THE TEMPLE

THE

LITTLE

GUIDES

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holy ground."—*Childe Harold*

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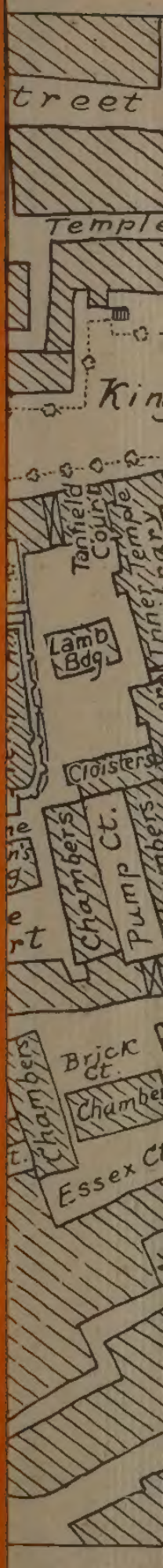

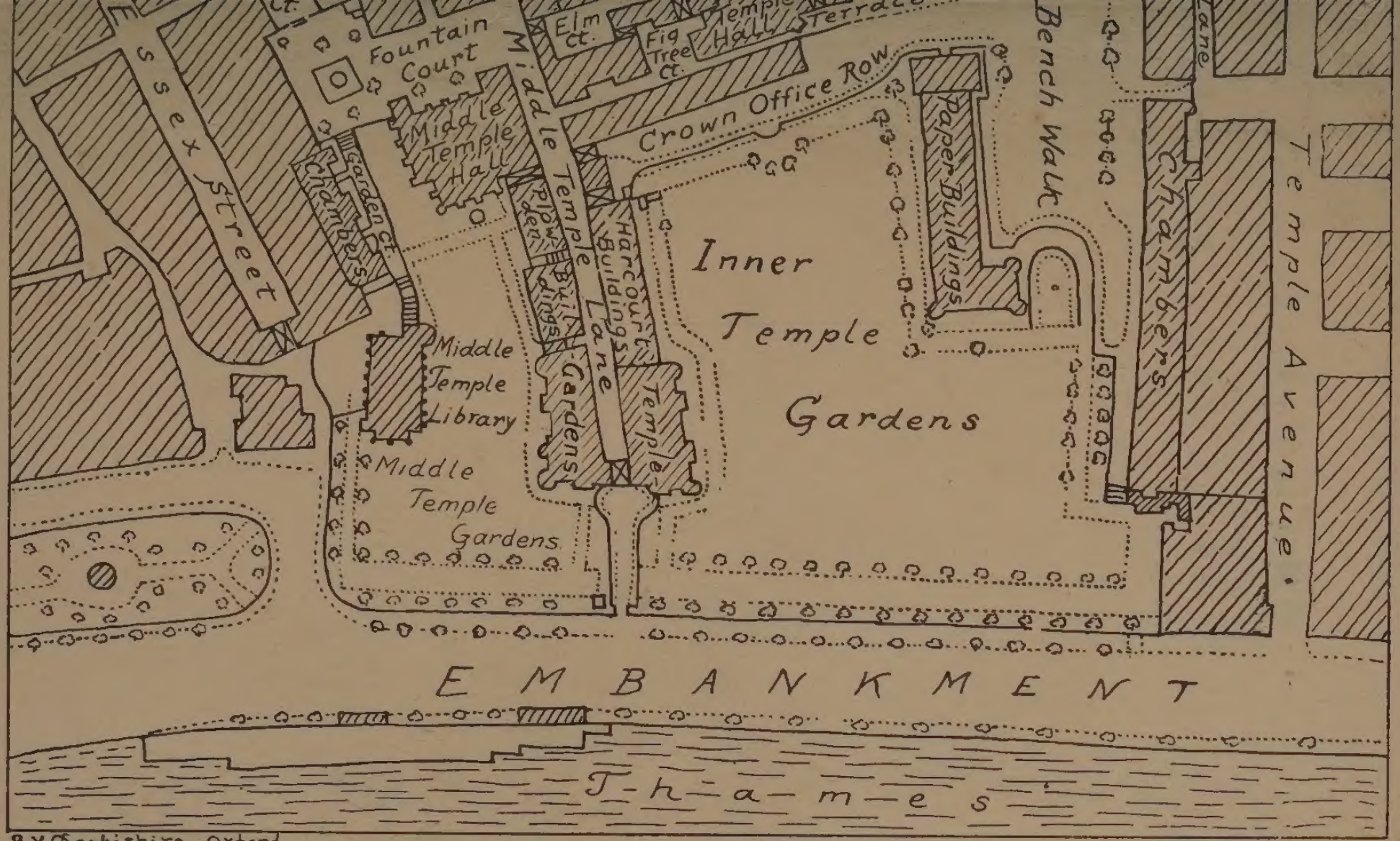

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THE TEMPLE

THE LITTLE GUIDES

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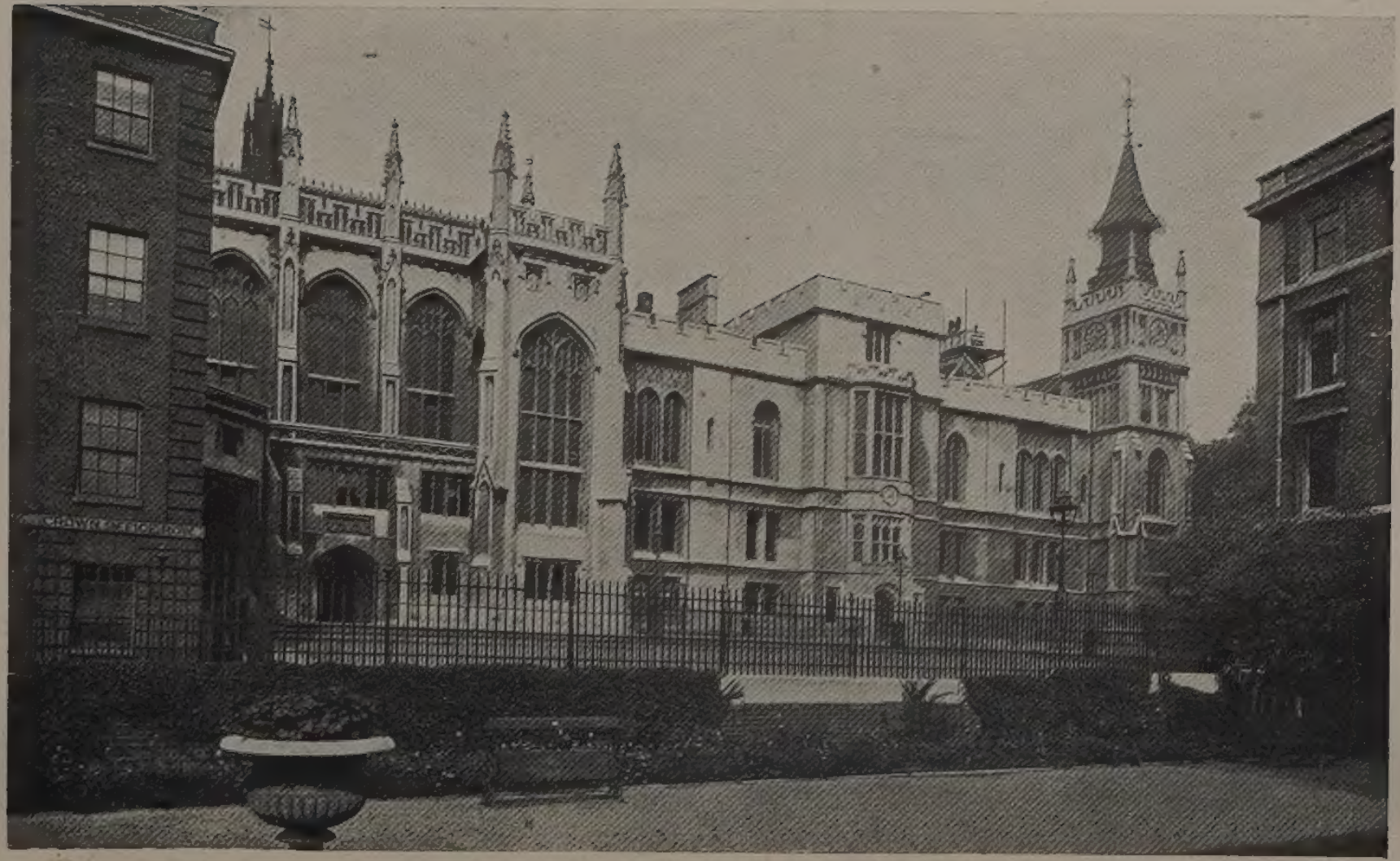

INNER TEMPLE HALL, LIBRARY AND PARLIAMENT CHAMBERS

THE TEMPLE

By

HUGH H. L. BELLOT
M.A., D.C.L.
Of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law

With Forty Illustrations and a Plan

"Who enters here leaves noise behind."
CHARLES DICKENS

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TO

MY FELLOW TEMPLARS

OF THE

HONOURABLE SOCIETIES

OF THE

INNER AND MIDDLE TEMPLE

PREFACE

TO some extent this little book is an abridgement of my larger work, *The Inner and Middle Temple*, in which I endeavoured to present in a popular form the story of the Temple with its wealth of legal, literary, and historic associations. These were only to be found scattered throughout an enormous mass of material dealing with the manifold phases of Temple life; and, since the publication of my earlier work in 1902, this mass of material has been still further very considerably increased. More particularly, further Records of the Middle Temple have been published, and documents relating to the early history of the Inns of Court have come to light. Of all this full advantage has been taken, and it is hoped that this Little Guide to the Temple will be found accurate and, so far as the limitations of space have permitted, complete. The drawings in the text are by Miss Wylie.

HUGH H. L. BELLOT

5, PAPER BUILDINGS
INNER TEMPLE
May, 1914

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THE TEMPLE

INTRODUCTION

OF the human tide which with ceaseless ebb and flow rises and falls about the thresholds of the ancient gateways of the Temple, many no doubt have some hazy idea that within its portals are to be found the gentlemen learned in the law. But few probably even of those who pass through its gates and enter its chambers on business bent, or hurry through its narrow lanes and dingy courts on their way to Whitefriars—the home of the newspaper world—or to the Guildhall School of Music hard by on the Embankment, realize the true significance of this historic spot. Within these precincts have lived and toiled many of our greatest statesmen and politicians, leading novelists and dramatists, historians and men of letters the names of whom are household words, to say nothing of a long unbroken line of eminent lawyers who in their turn succeeded the illustrious Order of the Knights Templars of mediæval fame. Thus the very pavements teem with reminiscences of some of our greatest leaders in literature, history and law, and through them recall many of the leading incidents in our national life.

The Knights Templars.—Of the three great military orders founded in the 12th cent. that of the Knights

Templars is perhaps the most renowned. Like most religious societies, its origin can be traced to the vow of a single individual, a Burgundian knight, one Hugh de Payens, who had greatly distinguished himself at the capture of Jerusalem in 1099. With eight companions Payens undertook the task of guarding the main roads leading to the Holy City for the protection of pilgrims, who were now thronging the mountain passes leading to the sacred shrine.

Quarters within the palace of Baldwin II., King of

MIDDLE TEMPLE GATEWAY

Jerusalem, were assigned to Payens and his fellow-Knights, who were enrolled as regular canons by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and took the vows of perpetual chastity, obedience and self-denial. This palace was formed partly of a building erected by the Emperor Justinian and partly of a mosque built by the Calyph Omar out of or upon the site of Solomon's Temple; hence the latter part of the title of the Order—"*Pauperes commilitones Christi templique Solominici.*"

Under the patronage of St Bernard the Order was reconstituted in 1128; its constitution, settled at the Council of Troyes and confirmed by the Pope and the

Patriarch, became the basis for the later and more elaborate, "*Règle du Temple.*"

From this moment the Order spread rapidly throughout Europe, and became the recipient of gifts and privileges, which made it the wealthiest society in existence. The Order was divided into three classes of knights, priests and serving brethren. None could become a Knight Templar who had not received the honour of knighthood, and their ranks soon became filled with the flower of European chivalry.

SEAL OF THE TEMPLARS

In the East their possessions were divided into three provinces, Palestine, Antioch and Tripoli. Europe was parcelled out in nine, of which England was one. The earliest settlements in this country were due to the encouragement of Henry I. Stephen presented the manors of Cressing and Witham in Essex; whilst his Queen Matilda made over the manor of Cowley, near Sandford, with common of pasture in the forest of Shotover, all familiar names to Oxford men.

At the head of the Order stood the Grand Master of the Temple, usually resident at the Temple of Jerusalem, the head-quarters of the Order until the capture

of the Holy City by Saladin in 1187, when they were transferred to Acre. Although styled Master by the provincials, the real title of the head of a province was at first Prior and later Preceptor, and as such he was addressed by the Grand Master. But within the province, its head was known as Grand Master, Grand Prior or Grand Preceptor, in order to distinguish him from the masters, priors or preceptors subject to his jurisdiction.

The date of the establishment of the Order in London is unknown. In the oldest charter yet discovered, Richard de Hastings is described as presiding at a meeting of the Order held in that city.

Hastings is known to have been Master of the Temple in England at the accession of Henry II. in 1153, to whom the Order was largely indebted for grants of property. Hastings was the friend and confidant of Thomas à Becket, and, upon his knees, urged the latter to submit to Henry. It was in Chancery Lane, on the site of Southampton House, that the Knights Templars first took up their abode in London; probably in the early years of the 12th cent. A Round Church existed here till Elizabeth's reign, and its foundations were discovered in 1904 upon the site of the London and County Bank in Holborn. This was known as "The Old Temple." About the year 1160 the Knights Templars migrated to new quarters on the banks of the Thames, which became known as "The New Temple."

It is well to pause for a moment to reconstruct the immediate neighbourhood of the New Temple prior to its occupation by the Templars. The river was then, as for many centuries afterwards, the great highway between the cities of London and Westminster. Fleet

Street scarcely existed. The road out of the City passed, as in Roman times, through Newgate, crossing the Fleet in the hollow just below and ascending Holborn Hill, whence it made its way along a ridge, which stretched from Holborn Bars, by Chancery Lane, past St Clement Danes to St Mary-le-Strand, just south of which it rapidly descended to the river, passing on its way the Roman bath. The neighbourhood round Fleet Street was then a marsh, across which a straggling footpath led to Ludgate, a mere postern, which gave access to the landing-stage on the bank of the Fleet.

Seventy years later these marshes were drained, Fleet Street constructed and a bridge thrown over the Fleet, giving a new access to the City. This highway was called the "Street of Flete brigge." It is on the land south of the new street extending from the Whitefriars on the E. to the site of Essex Street on the W. that the Templars built a vast monastery. Just opposite, on the northern side of the street, upon the site of the present Law Courts, lay Fickett's Field, which they retained as a tilting ground. Truly may we exclaim, "*Cedant arma togæ!*"

In their new home the Order continued to increase in power and wealth. Amongst other benefactors at this period occur the names of Ferrers, Harcourt, Hastings, Lacy, Clare, Vere, Mowbray and Montfort.

Into the participation of the Templars with the Crusades we cannot enter here. It must suffice to state that they, with the Knights Hospitallers, bore the brunt of the fighting. Their connection with the Court continued to be close and intimate. Richard sailed from Acre clad in the habit of the Order, and John, who kept the royal treasure in the Temple, fre-

quently lodged there, and here he was glad to seek refuge from the barons, the night before the fateful meeting at Runnymede. Others besides the King entrusted their securities to the Templars for safe custody, and doubtless this banking business was exceedingly profitable.

The great wealth and power of the Knights Templars naturally excited the avarice and jealousy of the authorities. The attack led by Philip le Bel of France was maintained by other monarchs—our own Edward II. proving an exception—with more or less violence until, with the aid of Pope Clement, the Order was dissolved by the Council of Vienne in 1312.

The grosser charges preferred against the Templars may be dismissed as pure invention—charges conceived in malice and covetousness—as our own Edward wrote. Some of the charges of unorthodoxy appear to have been well founded. Had they not outlived their purpose, however, none of these charges would have prevailed.

In the trials of the Templars torture as a regular part of legal procedure was introduced for the first time by Philip. In the hands of the Papal Legates, who conducted the trials in England, torture was also employed or threatened.

Upon the dissolution of the Order all their property passed to the Knights Hospitallers, but not more than one-twentieth reached their hands. In England their claims were at first entirely ignored.

The Outer Temple.—That portion of the Temple which lay outside the City boundaries was granted by Edward to Walter de Stapleton, Bishop of Exeter, and thenceforth was known indifferently as Stapleton Inn, Exeter Inn or the Outer Temple. Eventually it was

STATUES OF KNIGHTS TEMPLAR AND HOSPITALLER: INNER TEMPLE HALL

purchased by Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex. Then arose Essex House, which, with its garden, occupied the site now covered by both sides of Essex Street, the buildings abutting on the Strand, Devereux Court and New Court, now part of the Middle Temple. Here Essex, the ill-fated favourite of a capricious mistress, took measures for raising London against the Queen, and here on the failure of his plans he shut himself up and here he surrendered, and hence was led away to his trial and execution.

It was of this mansion that Spenser wrote the lines:—

> "Near to the Temple stands a stately place,
> Where I gayned giftes and the goodly grace
> Of that great lord who there was wont to dwell,
> Whose want too well now feels my friendless case;
> But, ah! here fits not well
> Old woes."

Upon the attainder of Essex, it reverted to the Crown, but was restored by James I. to his son, on whose death without issue it passed to his sister the Duchess of Somerset, and to his nephew Sir Robert Shirley. Partition was made of the Essex estate, and Essex House fell to the Duchess, who by will devised it to Thomas Thynn, Viscount Sidmouth, by whom it was sold to Dr. Barbon.

The Knights Hospitallers.—The Order of St John of Jerusalem was founded in 1118, and the Knights Hospitallers made their first military appearance before Antioch the following year. After the fall of Jerusalem, 1187, they established themselves at Acre in 1192, and in 1310 captured the Island of Rhodes. The organization of the Order in nationalities was similar to that of the Templars. The head-quarters of the English section were at Clerkenwell.

The New Temple.--It was not till the year 1338 that the Hospitallers became fully seized of the Temple. They had apparently been allowed to take possession of the consecrated portions immediately upon the eviction of the Templars, and this portion answers roughly to what is now known as the Inner Temple. Even this was more than the Hospitallers required for their own use. It now appears that thirteen houses built by Roger Blom, formerly *nuncius*, or messenger, of the

SEAL OF BERENGAR, PRIOR OF THE HOSPITALLERS

Templars, in the churchyard N. of the church were let to a body of lawyers not later than 1326 and possibly much earlier. The rent for these houses was, in 1337, £13 9s. 4d., subsequently reduced to £10. The unconsecrated places, described in that year as consisting of a hall, four chambers, a garden, a stable and a chamber outside the Great Gate are thought to have been let to another body of lawyers about the year 1356 at an annual rental of £10. These places correspond roughly with what is now known as the Middle Temple.

Whatever inferences may be drawn from these facts

and traditions it seems clear that the lawyers entered into the heritage of the Knights Templars in the New Temple in the early years of the 14th cent. Exactly when they came, whence they came, whether they came in one body or in two, whether they were at this time a constituted society or societies, or a mere fortuitous collection of individuals must remain for the present matters of conjecture.

It is, however, generally conceded that the societies of the Inner and Middle Temple have always been distinct, and for reasons too lengthy to give here their origin was also different. The first mention of the Middle Temple as a distinct society occurs in a will dated 1404. In the *Paston Letters* several references to the " Inner Temple " appear as early as 1440, whilst in the Black Books, Lincoln's Inn is described as " the ancient ally and friend of the Middle Temple."

The description by Geoffrey Chaucer of the Temple manciple, or chief cook, in his *Canterbury Tales*, written about 1388, has been adduced as evidence of two societies, since the better reading gives *a*, not *the* Temple :—

" A gentil maunciple was ther of a Temple
Of whom achatours mighte take exemple,
For to be wyse in bying of vitàille ;
For whether that he payde or toke by taille,
Algate he wayted so in his achate
That he was aye biforn and in good estate.
Now is nat that of God a ful fayre grace
That swiche a lewèd mannès wit shall pace
The wisdom of an hepe of lerned men?

" Of maistres had he mo than thryes ten
That were of lawe expert and curious ;
Of which there were a doseyn in that hous
Worthy to ben stewardes of rente and lond
Of any lord that is in Englelond ;

To make him live by his propre good
In honour detteles ; but he were wood,
Or live as scarsly as him list desire,
And able for to helpen al a shire,
In any cas that mighte fallen or happe
And yit this maunciple sette hir aller cappe."

The thirty masters referred to here are the Benchers. At this date leading counsel acted as stewards or legal advisers and agents to the great magnates of the kingdom. According to tradition, Chaucer was a member of the Inner. In Speght's *Works of Chaucer*, published in 1574, it is stated that Chaucer was at the "Colledges of the lawiers . . . and among them he had a familiar friend called John Gower. It seemeth that Chaucer was of the Inner Temple, for not many years since Master Buckley did see a Record in the same house where Geoffrey Chaucer was fined two shillings for beating a Franciscan friar in Fleet Street."

Master Buckley was, in 1564, the chief butler of the Inner, and as such librarian. If this statement can be relied upon this would place the Inner Temple in existence as a separate society as early as 1360. In my view, for reasons I have given elsewhere, the societies of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn are survivals of the old law school attached to St Paul's Cathedral. There is some evidence that the Middle Templars were an offshoot of St George's Inn, and it is quite possible that they came by way of Thavie's Inn, and thus had some connection with Lincoln's Inn.

It was the Peasants' Revolt under Wat the Tyler, in 1381, which caused such irreparable loss to the Temple. To the peasants the lawyers were particularly obnoxious, as the authors by their chicanery of all their troubles. The lawyers appear to have fled the Temple ere the storm burst. As Stow tells us, the rebels

"took in hand to behead all men of law, as well apprentices as other barristers and old justices. . . . They spared none whom they thought to be learned; especially if they found any to have pen and ink they pulled off his hood and all with one voice, crying, 'Hale him out and cut off his head!'"

In this spirit of Jacquerie they surged up the street and burst into the Temple, and "threw down the houses to the ground, and stripping roofs took away the tiles, so that they left them in disorder. And they went to the church and plundered all the books and rolls and remembrances that were in their chests in the Temple of the apprentices of the law and carried them to the great fire place and burned them."

Up to the Reformation the Temple was held of the Knights Hospitallers by the two societies, when, in 1540, this Order was in turn dissolved and despoiled by Henry VIII. He, indeed, contemplated dissolving also the Inns of Court and establishing in their place a legal university for the teaching of the Civil Law; but either the Inns were not worth plundering or the resistance of the Common lawyers was too strong and the scheme fell to the ground. So until the year 1608 the lawyers held of the Crown as tenants-at-will at the annual rental of £10 for each society, when James I., recognizing their insecure position, commenced negotiations for the sale of the premises. The two societies immediately took steps to avert this common danger, and upon presenting the King with a stately cup of pure gold, weighing 200 oz. filled with gold pieces, obtained a new charter, granting them the Temple in two parcels, together with the Church in fee farm for ever at the old rentals of £10 each.

In 1673 these two fee farm rents were purchased

from Charles II. by the two societies, and thus became their absolute property respectively. In consequence of various disputes between the two societies respecting boundaries and questions of ownership, an inquiry was held, and the property ascertained to belong to each duly settled by a Deed of Partition, dated 1732.

Early Law Schools.—The origin of the societies of the Inns of Court is to be found in the law schools which were in existence in the City in the 12th cent. There was, according to tradition, a legal institution in Newgate called Johnstone's Inn, another in Pewter Lane and a third in Paternoster Row. There was St George's Inn in Seacole Lane near the Old Bailey, which was the parent of New Inn. There was the Cathedral School of St Paul's, and in all probability there was a school of some sort in Cheapside attached to the church of St Mary-le-Bow, in the crypt of which the Archbishop of Canterbury held his Court of Arches. Throughout the century Civilian and Canonist lawyers had been swarming across the Channel for the express purpose of practising in the courts and teaching law. They were as a rule Churchmen. As William of Malmesbury said, there was scarcely a clergyman who was not also a lawyer. These men brought with them not only the Civil Law of the Roman Emperors, but also the Canon Law of the Pope of Rome. In the reign of Stephen we hear of Roger De Bec lecturing on the sister laws in the City, a proceeding which the citizens induced the King to prohibit. This is the first hint we get of the future long struggle between the Common lawyers and the Canonists. But these Churchmen, many of whom practised in the Common Law Courts, taught the Common Law as well. "Divers men learned in the law," says Coke, "that I may use

the words of the record, kept schools of law in the City of London and taught such as resorted to them, the laws of the realm, taking their foundation of *Magna Carta* and *Carta de Foresta*." This is precisely the method of instruction employed by the Readers in the Inns of Court when we first meet with them.

In 1234 Henry III., by his writ addressed to the Mayor and Sheriffs of the City, ordered, "The suppression of the schools of the laws within the City." We may assume that this prohibition formed part of the policy of the Church to attract all judicial business into its own courts. Already, in 1217, clerks and priests had been enjoined not to appear as advocates in the secular courts, and in 1164 they had been forbidden to lecture outside their monasteries in natural philosophy or municipal law. In 1254 the clergy, by a Bull of Innocent IV., were prohibited from teaching the Common Law.

These attempts to place the monopoly of the law in the hands of the Church nearly proved successful. It proved successful in so far as, from 1234 to the accession of Edward I., it threw the profession open to practitioners who were both unqualified and unscrupulous. And the mischief did not stop at these persons, as the judicial scandals of 1289 proved. In the reform of the legal profession which followed, doubtless the English Justinian made some provision for legal instruction.

The Legal Profession.—At this period the legal profession consisted of three classes—serjeants-at-law, apprentices-at-law and apprentices. Serjeants-at-law were also styled *attornati*, because they appeared in court for another. Originally anyone could be an attorney, just as anyone could be an *essoiner*,

that is, a person who came into court to make excuse for the absence of one of the parties. At this time attorneys in the modern sense did not exist. In course of time, however, the serjeants gained the exclusive right of audience in the Court of Common Pleas when the judges sat in Term time *in banco*. The apprentices-at-law had the right of audience in the Common Pleas in vacation when the judges sat at *nisi prius*, and also in the Court of King's Bench. The apprentices were merely students.

By whom was this right of audience conferred? Like the Halls of Oxford and Cambridge, which they so much resemble, the Inns of Court and Chancery are children of the mediæval gild. Founded for almost every purpose, civil and religious, these gild societies framed rules of government for the regulation of their respective objects; the protection of their members, the training and education of their novices and apprentices. Just as at Oxford or Cambridge a little band of students would collect round a well-known professor in some faculty, so in the City the serjeants had attracted to them pupils desirous of becoming masters in the faculty of law.

Under this system no one could become a master unless he had sat at the feet of some duly authorized master, and until by actual performance of the duties of his profession in public he proved to the satisfaction of the masters of the faculty his right to be included amongst them.

It has been suggested that the creation of the Inns of Court formed part of Edward's scheme. This is improbable. What appears to have happened is that the serjeants and their apprentices moved out of the City in the latter half of the 13th cent. or in the early

years of the 14th cent. There appears to be good ground for believing in the existence of a lawyers' gild in the City in the 12th cent., the members of which consisted of three classes—serjeants or masters, apprentices-at-law and students, who were received by the judges to exclusive audience upon the faith of their *inceptio* as masters-at-law. It was this gild of lawyers with its schools which was not only the forerunner of the Inns of Court, but the very same body which eventually constituted those societies. Thus the Inns of Court acquired their name, because this right of exclusive audience in the royal courts was at some unknown date confined to those of their members who were deemed "fit for practice."

The Legal University.—The earliest description of the legal institutions which lay off Holborn, Chancery Lane and Fleet Street is that by Chief Justice Fortescue, Governor of Lincoln's Inn in 1425 and, like Clarendon after him, Chancellor only in name, when he fled into exile with Margaret of Anjou and the young Prince for whose instruction he wrote his treatise, *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*, in which he gives a connected account of the Inns of Court and Chancery, which he styles *Studium publicum*. This term corresponds to what we call a *university*. In those days, *Studium generale* meant not a place where all subjects were taught, but a place where students from all parts were received. This university then consisted of the four Inns of Court and ten Inns of Chancery, viz. Lincoln's Inn with Thavie's or Davy's Inn and Furnival's Inn attached; the Inner Temple with Clifford's Inn, Clement's Inn and Lyon's Inn; the Middle Temple with New Inn and Strand Inn; and Gray's Inn with Staple Inn and Barnard Inn. The tenth Inn

was Symond's, but there is no evidence to which House of Court it was attached. Scrope's Inn in Holborn was said to be a House for the serjeants, from which they appeared to have moved early in the 15th cent. to two houses, one in Chancery Lane, known as Serjeants' Inn, Chancery Lane, and the other in Fleet Street, known as Serjeants' Inn, Fleet Street. These Inns were occupied by the judges and serjeants, the latter upon their creation being in the 16th cent. formally drummed out of their respective Inns of Court.

The Inns of Court.—When the right to admit candidates to the mastership or call to the Bar was restricted to the Inns of Court, or when the latter came to be distinguished from the Inns of Chancery, it is impossible to say. Originally there appears to have been no distinction between these societies.

It is clear that in the 13th cent. the legal profession was in some disorder, and many unqualified persons were practising in the courts. In the reform of the legal profession after the trials of the judges and lesser officials in 1289, the lawyers' gild would naturally receive some attention. In 1292 the King, by the statute, *De Attornatis et Apprenticiis*, directed the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas and his fellow-judges to provide a certain number of serjeants and barristers (to use the modern equivalents) from each county, who should attend the courts wherever they might be and have exclusive audience therein.

Constitution of the Inns of Court.—Like the members of an Oxford or Cambridge Hall, the lawyers and their apprentices congregated in hospices, or inns, leased to one or more of the senior members and developed in precisely the same way into self-governing

societies with similar systems of government, their members divided into similar classes and with equivalent degrees conferred by similar ceremonies after a course of training conducted on similar lines.

The government of an Inn of Court resided in the Masters of the Bench, who originally were exclusively drawn from the ranks of the Readers. Two Readers were elected annually—one to read in the Lent vacation, called the Lent Reader; the other to read in the autumn vacation, called the Autumn Reader. The Lent Reader was the senior, and at first he was the greatest personage in the society. In later times he was superseded by the Treasurer. Originally also members were only called to the Bar by the Reader—the person who gave the lectures on the statutes referred to by Coke, and who presided at the moots. He was the person who could best testify to the fitness of a candidate. The Readers were drawn from the ranks of the apprentices-at-law, or Utter Barristers as they were called later. No one could refuse the office. Later Governors—three or four—were chosen by the Benchers to administer the affairs of the House. When the Masters of the Bench met in session at the Bench Table—the High Table in Hall—it was termed a Parliament, and here orders relating to the government of the fellows—*socii*—were passed. Next to the apprentices-at-law, or Utter Barristers, ranked the apprentices, or Inner Barristers, i.e. the students. In early days the Masters of the Bench were also called Great Apprentices to distinguish them from apprentices-at-law. In the same way there were originally two classes of Utter Barristers, viz. ancient Utter Barristers, i.e. those who were of sufficient standing to practise in the courts, and Utter Barristers, i.e.

those who had not yet been called three years and were not yet allowed audience at Westminster.

Inner Barristers, or students, came either direct from the Universities or school, or from the Inns of Chancery, which had become largely preparatory schools.

In addition to its fellows the society included the Barristers' clerks, a staff of paid servants such as butlers, the steward, the cook, the manciple, the panniermen, porters, laundresses and washpots, and in early days a jester and a harper.

The Order of the Coif.—The origin of the Order of the Coif cannot be traced with any certainty. Summoned by writ to attend the King in Council, the countors, or *narratores Banci*, gradually became a recognized order styled *Servientes Regis ad Legem*. The earliest writ extant occurs in the reign of Richard II. From their ranks were selected the judges and the itinerant justices.

Their connection with the Church is seen in the long, priest-like robe, with cape furred by lambskin and a hood with two lapels. These robes varied from time to time and on different occasions. There was the scarlet gown for State functions, the purple for saints' days and holidays, the blue-brown and later the silk gown for levees, drawing-rooms, and sittings at *nisi prius*, and a mustard and murrey, later a violet gown, to be worn in court during Term time.

The parti-coloured gown was the livery of the royal or some noble house, given as a general retainer to a serjeant, and was specially excepted in the statutes from Richard II. to Henry VIII. against *giving liveries and retainers*. In Elizabeth's time it was only worn by a serjeant for one year after his creation.

There appears to be a very close connection between the initiation of a serjeant with that of a Knight Templar. The white linen thrown over the head of a serjeant on his creation is the white lawn of the Templars; both were emblems of knightly service. Later, it was drawn together into the shape of a skull-cap, and later still it was made of silk. With the introduction of wigs a round black patch, with a white border, covering the round hole on the top of the wig, repre-

OLD GATEWAY TO ELY PLACE

sented the coif and the black silk skull-cap worn by the serjeants.

When the Serjeants' Feasts were held in the Temple Halls the serjeants, in the middle of the feast, went to the chapel of St Thomas of Acre in Cheapside, built by Thomas Becket's sister after his canonization, and there offered; and then to St Paul's, where they offered at St Erkenwald's shrine; then into the body of the church, and were there appointed to their pillars by the steward of the feast, to which they then returned.

Although none but priests could offer this rite, it

continued to be performed by the serjeants up to the Reformation. This practice of allotting pillars continued till old St Paul's was burnt.

The Serjeants' Feast was an expensive business for the serjeants. One held in the Inner Temple Hall on 6 October, 1555, cost £667 7s. 7d.—a large sum in those days. It was of a sumptuous and remarkable character, one item on the menu being "a standing dish of wax, representing the Court of Common Pleas artificially made, the charge whereof £4."

The grand feasts, when largely attended, were held at Ely Place, Lambeth Palace, or St John's Priory at Clerkenwell, but these began to give way early in the 16th cent. to masques and revels in the halls of the Inns.

By the operation of the Judicature Acts, which no longer required the judges to be of the degree of the Coif, the serjeants were, in 1877, as a corporate body wound up and their property sold.

King's Counsel.—To-day the English Bar is divided into two classes—(1) King's Counsel, who wear silk gowns and sit "within the Bar," and are called "silks" or "leaders"; (2) all other counsel, who wear stuff gowns and sit "without the Bar," and are called "stuff gownsmen" or "juniors." The Attorney-General is the head of the Bar and takes precedence of all other counsel in court. Next to him ranks the Solicitor-General, after whom come King's Counsel, taking rank according to the date of their patents. Precedence among the junior Bar is determined by the date of their call.

Originally the King had in his service numerous Serjeants and sometimes four or more Attorneys-General; later he had two King's Serjeants and one

Attorney and one Solicitor-General. In the reign of James I., Francis Bacon caused a great disturbance in the legal profession by obtaining from the King a patent of precedence as King's Counsel. The next similar appointment was that of Francis North in 1668, and it was not until nearly a hundred years had elapsed that such appointments became general. King's or Queen's Counsel received at first, like serjeants, £40 a year, but since 1831 this has been discontinued. A King's or Queen's Counsel is appointed at the instance of the Lord Chancellor by the King or Queen respectively.

Call to the Bar.—Originally students had to pass one or two years in an Inn of Chancery, and seven or eight in an Inn of Court before being called to the Bar as Utter Barristers. During this period the student was required to perform the specified number of exercises, to have kept his Terms and to have observed all the regulations of his Inn. Before a Barrister, however, was allowed to practise in Westminster Hall he had to pass another three years in his Inn and take a share in maintaining the exercises of learning. With the decay of legal instruction, which commenced in the 17th cent., the period of probation was gradually shortened. In the 18th cent., for example, the student had to be of six years' standing only, and to have performed nine exercises and to have kept eight Term Commons and one Vacation Commons. To-day the student of an Inn of Court must pass a public examination to the satisfaction of the examiners appointed by the Council of Legal Education and have kept twelve terms. There are four terms in the year, and these are now kept by the student eating in Hall a specified number of dinners in each Term.

Legal Instruction.—The chief times for instruction were known as the Learning Vacations, which lasted three weeks during the Easter and summer vacations. A certain amount of instruction also took place in Term; but the day was occupied by the students attending the Court at Westminster and the Guildhall, where special accommodation—a box known as "le Cribbe"—was reserved for their use.

Legal instruction was of two kinds—lectures and disputation. In the first, the Reader attended in Hall at eight o'clock in the morning, and took for his text some statute, upon which he proceeded to raise questions. Thereupon the youngest Utter Barrister present argued one of the questions followed by the rest of the Utter Barristers and Benchers, after which the Reader replied. If any judges or serjeants were present they were expected to deliver their opinions.

After dinner, which was at twelve o'clock, cases put at the Reader's Table were argued by every mess in Hall; and after supper, which was at six o'clock, the Reader and Benchers discussed cases put by one of the Utter Barristers.

Generally on two evenings a week moots were held. A moot was a hypothetical case conducted exactly like the trial of a cause in court. The Benchers sat as judges, whilst the case was stated and argued by one Utter Barrister with an Inner Barrister as his junior on the one side, and one Utter Barrister and Inner Barrister on the other. The Utter Barristers sat one at either end of the form below the Bench Table at which the judges were seated, and the Inner Barristers sat between them. This is said to be the explanation of the terms Utter and Inner Barristers.

In Term time cases were argued after dinner, and

moots held after supper in the same manner. In the Dead Vacations, i.e. the time between the Learning Vacation and Term, the same course was followed with the exception that the Utter Barristers took the places of the Benchers as judges at the moots. In addition to this, Utter Barristers were compelled to act as Readers to the Inns of Chancery, where a similar mode of instruction was pursued.

This system broke up in the middle of the 17th cent. Its discontinuance was due partly to the enormous cost of the Reader's Feast, partly to the increase of students, who became too numerous to take part in the moots, and partly to the disinclination of the Utter Barristers to devote so much time to the instruction of students.

But the education at these Inns of Court and Chancery was not merely legal, nor even confined to the classics and other erudite learning, but was a general training for men of position, as we are told by Sir John Fortescue, who wrote about the year 1463 of these institutions: "There they learn to sing, to exercise themselves in all kinds of harmonye. There also they practise dannsing and other noblemen's pastimes, as they used to do which are brought up in the king's house."

And he adds that noblemen placed their children in these inns, not to have them learned in the law nor to live by its practice, but to become accomplished and useful citizens.

And with the Renaissance, no less than during feudal times, the Inns of Court men continued to be rulers of society. Having no less intimate relations with the royal circle than with the commercial magnates of the City, and comprising a large proportion

of men eminent for rank, wealth, learning and wit, they laid down the law equally upon questions of politics as upon those of dress, taste and art. And although in more modern times the gentlemen of the long robe have ceased to occupy such exclusive prominence, they still exercise a powerful influence in the manifold phases of the political and social life of the nation.

Reader's Feast.—This entertainment took place in the last week of the Reading, feasting being an integral part of the gild system. The expense was at first defrayed by the Inn, but in course of time these entertainments grew into social functions, to which "foreign Ambassadors, Earls, Lords and men of eminent quality" were invited. This additional cost fell upon the Reader, whose expenses averaged in the 17th cent. £2000 to £3000 in our money. Evelyn relates how, on 3 August, 1668, he was invited by Mr. Bramston, his old fellow-traveller and then Reader at the Middle, to his Reader's Feast, "which was so extravagant and greate as the like had not been seen at any time. There were the Dukes of Ormond, Privy Seal, Bedford, Belasys, Halifax and a world more of earls and lords." Readings were formally abolished at the Middle in 1680.

The Revels.—The "dannsing" referred to by Fortescue was, of course, the Revels which took place in all the Inns at Christmas. They are described by Gerard Leigh in his *Accedence of Armoure*, published in 1562; by Dugdale in his *Origines Juridiciales*, published in 1666; and by Warton in his *History of English Poetry*. A Christmas Prince or Master of the Revels was chosen with his State officials, servants and guards. Dinner was followed by dancing, and at

the grand banquet, to which members of the other Inns were invited, "after dancing and revelling with gentlewomen" a play or a masque would be held. Early in the reign of Charles I., the revels began to give way to the masque. The last revels of which any detailed account exists took place in the Inner Temple Hall on 2 February, 1733, when "the Master of the Revels took by the right hand Lord Chancellor Talbot, and he with his left took Mr. T. Page, who, joined to the other Judges, Serjeants and Benchers present, danced or rather walked about the coal fire according to the old ceremony three times, during which they were aided in the figure of the dance by Mr. George Cooke, the Prothonotary, then upwards of sixty; and all the time of the dance the ancient song, accompanied with music, was sung by Toby Aston, dressed in a bar-gown."

The Masque.—This entertainment was of great antiquity, and attained its highest phase during the late Tudor and earlier Stuart reigns. With few exceptions, it was a spectacular rather than a dramatic exhibition. Milton's *Comus* stands alone. Literary excellence was not a strong feature of the masque. Gorgeous costumes, graceful dancing, songs and music were the principal characteristics, and so it was only princes and rich societies who could indulge in the extravagance of a masque.

When the taste for the ruder Revels, or Brawls, began to pall with gentlemen of the Inns of Court, the masque readily supplanted them. The most famous of these were those upon the marriage of Princess Elizabeth to the Count Palatine of the Rhine on St Valentine's Day, 1612, when Lincoln's Inn joined with Middle in presenting one masque, and the Gray's Inn collaborated

with the Inner in presenting the other, which was written by Francis Beaumont; and the *Triumph of Peace,* given in honour of Charles and Henrietta on Candlemas Day, 1633. After the masque, which was "incomparably performed in the dancing, speeches, music and scenes" at Whitehall, the Queen and Court ladies were led out to dance by the chief masquers, and the fun was kept up till morning, when royalty retired and the gentlemen of the Inns sat down to a stately banquet. Henrietta was peculiarly gratified with this exhibition, since it was regarded as a demonstration against Prynne's *Histrio Mastix,* in which he had inveighed against her. The total cost of this entertainment exceeded £21,000.

The Stage Play.—A natural development of the masque and of the Miracle Play was the Stage Play. "On Twelfth Night of 1560, or 1561, the first dramatic performance of one of the earliest dramas took place in the Inner Temple Hall, entitled *The Tragedy of Gorboduc,* by Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville."

Norton became a distinguished jurist and writer, as well as a well-known public man. Sackville, afterwards Lord Buckhurst, and ultimately Earl of Dorset, was also a notable figure in public affairs. Both were members of the Inner Temple.

Upon the first performance of Norton's and Sackville's play Christopher Hatton was Master of the Revels.

At the second performance, held at Whitehall, he appears to have taken a leading part, since he attracted the attention of Queen Elizabeth by his graceful dancing and became her prime favourite. In 1587 he became Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and thenceforth was known as "the Dancing Chancellor."

There can be little doubt that Hatton was one of the joint authors of *Tancred and Gismund*, produced in the Inner Temple Hall in 1568, and at which Elizabeth was almost certainly present.

From 1605 to 1640 plays were performed in the Inner Temple Hall twice a year at Allhallows and Candlemas, with the exception of a short interval, when "Anticks or puppits" were substituted on account of the "great disorder and scurrility brought into this House by lewd and lascivious plays." In September, 1642, stage plays were banned by the Government.

Of the names of these plays we have no record, but we know that they were performed by "The King's Majesty's Servants," "The Cockpit Players," and "The Blackfryars Players." Shakespeare, Burbage, Hemming and Cardell belonged to the first, but there is no mention of the latter till the play on All Saints' Day, 1614, a year and a half before Shakespeare's death.

After the Restoration the taste for the Shakespearean drama entirely died away, probably due to the reaction in favour of a lower standard of thought in art as in everything else.

Whatever the cause, out of the twenty plays produced in the Inner Temple Hall from the accession of Charles II. to the flight of his brother not one can claim Shakespeare as its author.

Beaumont and Fletcher are responsible for *The Night Walker, or The Little Thief*, played in 1664; *The Little French Lawyer*, in 1668; the *Philaster, or Love Lyes a Bleeding*, in 1671; *The Spanish Curate*, in 1675 and 1686; *The Scornful Lady*, in 1675; and *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife*, in 1682.

The Plain Dealer, by Wycherley, in 1683, was followed by *The Fond Husband*, by T. Durfy, in 1684; whilst Thomas Otway was responsible for *The Soldier's Fortune*, in 1685, and *The Cheats of Scapin*, in 1687. Such plays continued to be given with great regularity for many years. Masques and plays are still occasionally given in the Inns; for instance, *The Masque of Flowers*, in 1887, and Robert Browning's *Strafford*, in 1890, at the Inner Temple.

Renaissance.—The growth of membership which had commenced under Edward was still further increased during the reign of Elizabeth, when legal instruction was at its best. As in earlier days, it once more became the fashion for men of rank to enter the Inns of Court without any idea of following the practice of the law, and this was especially the case at the Inner. Such was the increase that the Government interposed, and in 1574 it was ordered that no more chambers should be built, "saving that in the Middle Temple they maie converte theire olde Halle into chambres not exceedinge the nombre of tenne chambres."

It is interesting to note the number of members at this period. From a return of 1586, it appears that the Middle Temple possessed 138 chambers, occupied by 200 members. The Inner Temple and Lincoln's Inn had then each the same number, whereas Gray's Inn with 356 easily led the way as the most popular and fashionable society. The total number of members belonging to the four Inns and Inns of Chancery amounted to 1703.

The Civil War.—Many members of both societies were actively engaged in the field on one side or the other. Belonging so largely to the country party, the majority of the members naturally sided with the

King. On the outbreak of the war, Sir Edward Lyttelton raised a regiment of foot from the Inns of Court and Chancery and joined the King at Oxford. John Croke, also of the Inner, raised a troop of horse and ruined his estate in the Royal cause; Sir Robert Pye defended his seat, Faringdon House, for the King against the Parliamentary forces, commanded by his second son! Mark Trevor, admitted to the Inner, 1634, was the colonel "who wounded the tyrant Cromwell in the face"; young Robert Phelips assisted Charles to escape to France after the Battle of Worcester, and is, no doubt, the young Colonel Lee of Scott's *Woodstock;* contemporary with him is Thomas Blount, the author of *Boscobel,* a personal narrative of the King's adventures after the Battle of Worcester.

On the other side were Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, the great Parliamentary general; Basil Lord Fielding, another eminent officer; Serjeant Unton Croke and his son Unton, a captain in the Parliamentary forces who defeated and captured the unfortunate Colonel Penruddock of Gray's Inn; the Earls of Arundel, Oxford and Northampton, and numerous other men of rank. Sir Richard Onslow, who raised a regiment for the Parliament, was in command at the siege of Basing House.

With so many in the field the normal life of the Temple was at first much disturbed, but with such men as Prideaux and Whitelocke to carry on the business of the Inns, order was soon restored, and with the Restoration the Cavaliers quietly retook possession of their sequestered chambers. During the Commonwealth the lawyers were at first very unpopular in the House, and the chambers of the royalists were ordered to be seized.

Returned for Marlow, Whitelocke, a member of the Middle, was chairman of the committee of management for the impeachment of Strafford; he was complimented by the Earl for having used him like a gentleman. Whitelocke took a very active part in public affairs, and always on the side of peace. In 1645 he was appointed Governor of Henley-on-Thames and the fort of Phillis Court, with a garrison of 300 foot and a troop of horse. Upon the conclusion of hostilities he resumed his practice at the Bar, which became very large.

His *Memorials of English Affairs* is indispensable for the study of this eventful period.

A contemporary of Whitelocke at the Middle Temple was Henry Ireton, the celebrated Cromwellian general, of whom Anthony Wood said that "he learned some grounds of the common law at the Middle Temple, and became a man of working and laborious brain."

John Hampden, whose name is indelibly imprinted upon the pages of constitutional history, lost his life in a petty skirmish on Chalgrove Field in 1643.

John Hutton, a student of the Inner, another Hampden, was imprisoned for his refusal to pay ship-money, and, upon his release, was elected by the popular party a member of the Long Parliament; but, fearing his colleagues were going too far, he went over to the Royalists and joined the King at Oxford.

The Regicides.—A number of the regicides were members of the Inner. Thomas Challoner escaped to Zeeland, and died there in 1667. Simon Mayne, M.P. for Aylesbury, died in the Tower, and was buried in the Temple Church. William Cowley, Recorder of Chichester, and Gabriel Ludlow, a Bencher, both

escaped to Vevey. Henry Marten, son of Sir Henry Marten, Dean of Arches and Judge of the Court of Admiralty, died in confinement at Chepstow Castle in 1681. Daniel Blagrave fled to Aachen, where he died in 1668. Anthony Stapley, M.P. for Arundel, died before the Restoration, as also did Sir William Constable. John Downes, M.P., pleaded guilty, and being recommended to mercy was reprieved. John Carew, relying upon the proclamation, surrendered. He was tried at the Old Bailey and executed. He was thus the only member to suffer the extreme penalty for treason. Andrew Broughton, who, as Chief Clerk of the Crown, read the indictment and called on the King to plead, and read the sentence, escaped to Switzerland, where he died. All these were men of good family.

The Great Fire.—In two public misfortunes which befell the City during the reign of Charles II. the Inner Temple shared largely. The summers of 1665 and 1666 found both Temples deserted in consequence of the plague, which then raged with such virulence, and scarcely had this abated when, on 2 September, 1666, the great fire broke out, reaching the Temple on the 4th.

Only by a free use of gunpowder, under the direction of the Duke of York, and a timely dropping of the wind was the whole Temple saved from destruction. As it was, the damage was enormous. The whole of King's Bench Walk, with the Alienation Office, Fuller's Rents and the houses in Ram Alley, the Exchequer Office, Tanfield Court, Cæsar's Buildings and most of the buildings E. of the Hall were swept away. The Master's house also perished, the flames even licking the E. end of the church and setting alight the roof of the Inner Temple Hall. An irregular line

drawn on Ogilby's plan shows the extent to which the fire extended to the W. A day or two afterwards the fire broke out in Fig Tree Court, which was partially blown up in order to save the Hall. During the next five years these buildings were all rebuilt, but in October, 1677, another fire broke out in King's Bench Walk, destroying nearly the whole of the new structures there.

Lord Clarendon, an eye-witness of the Fire of 1666, writes in his *Autobiography*, that "when the fire came where the lawyers had houses, as they had in many places, especially Serjeants' Inn in Fleet Street, with that part of the Inner Temple that was next it and White Friars, there was scarce a man to whom those lodgings appertained who was in town; so that whatsoever there was there, their money, books and papers, besides the evidences of many men's estates deposited in their hands, were all burnt or lost, to a very great value."

Jurisdiction of the City.—In 1669 the City once more claimed jurisdiction over the Temple. The garrulous Pepys tells us how when the Lord Mayor, Sir William Turner, was invited by Christopher Goodfellowe to his Reader's Feast in the Inner Temple Hall, he came "endeavouring to carry his sword up. The students did pull it down and forced him to go and stay all day in a private Councillor's chambers until the Reader himself could get the young gentlemen to dinner, and then the Lord Mayor did retreat out of the Temple by stealth with his sword up."

The City then complained to the King in Council whether the Temple was within the City or no, but the King, unwilling to lose the favour of either party, gave no decision, and the only result of the suit was

the direction to the Chamberlain to pay the Town Clerk £23 14s. 6d., disbursed by him for counsel.

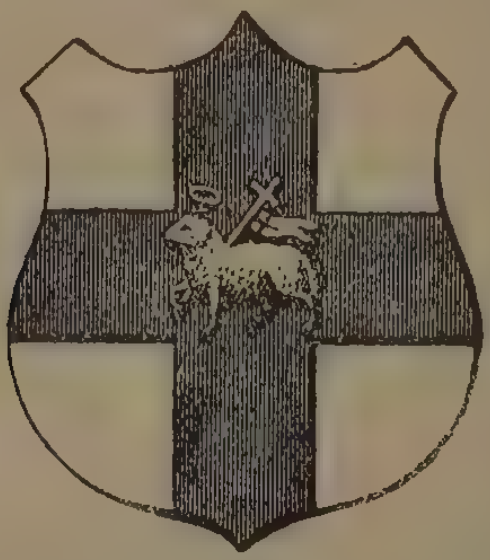
This dispute again arose on the occasion of the Fire of 1679.

The War of American Independence.—The later associations of the Temple are rather literary and legal than historical, and references to these will be found in the "Description of Places." But some allusion to one national event of far-reaching importance cannot be entirely omitted.

In addition to the Inns of Court men who migrated to the Settlements, or who went out to hold judicial office, a number of students from these colonies entered one or other of the four Inns during the latter half of the 18th cent. The Middle Temple is represented by five signatories to the Declaration of Independence, of whom Edward Routledge became Governor of South Carolina, Thomas Heyward a judge, and Thomas McKean President of Delaware and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. The other signatories were Thomas Lynch and Arthur Middleton. John Routledge, first President of the General Assembly of South Carolina and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, was Chairman of the Committee of five which drafted the first Constitution of the United States. He was called by the Middle in 1754. William Livingstone, another of the framers of the Constitution, was also a Middle Templar. John Dickinson, "the Pennsylvanian Farmer," Arthur Lee of Virginia, and Peyton Randolph, President of the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, were also members of the Inn.

The Temple Crests.—The origin of the two crests or arms of the two Societies is uncertain, and has given rise to much discussion. The original banner of the

Knights Templars was made of two pieces of woollen stuff, one black, the other white, with the red cross of the Order in the midst. This banner was called "Le Beauséant," or, as it was originally spelt, "Baucéant," which signified in old French "a piebald horse." Possibly this suggested the seal of two men on one horse, typical of the vow of poverty and humiliation sworn by *Pauperes commilitones Christi*—the poor fellow-soldiers of Christ—which it has been suggested at the hands of some mediæval craftsman



ARMS OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE

developed into *Pegasus*, the horse with two wings, the present badge of the Inner Temple.

This suggestion is ingenious and highly probable, although on the other hand there is evidence that the Pegasus was adopted by the Inn in the year 1563, after the Christmas Revels held in honour of Lord Robert Dudley, at which twenty-four gentlemen of the Inn were dubbed Knights of the Order of Pegasus. Lord Robert as Palaphilos, Prince of Wisdom, was the chief performer, and Roger Manwood, afterwards Lord Chief Baron, and Christopher Hatton, afterwards Lord

Chancellor, were his principal supporters. Gerard Leigh is stated by the Hon. Daines Barrington to have suggested the device of a "Pegasus Luna on a field argent." But the device has always been a Pegasus argent on a field azure. That Gerard Leigh did suggest the device is not improbable, since in his *Accedence of Armoure,* published in the same year, he gives a detailed account of these revels, together with a woodcut of the arms.

That the device of two men on one horse was an emblem of poverty and humility Mr. Bayliss agrees with Stow and Vincent in thinking ridiculous. According to these writers it was symbolic of love and charity, and was intended to represent the rescue of a wounded fellow-Christian by a Templar on the field of battle. This idea might indeed be carried still further. Might it not represent a Templar assisting a travel-worn or wounded pilgrim on his way to the Holy City, signifying the object for which the society was founded.

A second seal of the Templars was the *Agnus Dei* with the flag, but this was only adopted at a much later date, the first instance of its use being in 1241, nearly a century and a half after the institution of the Order. As was only natural, this was appropriately adopted by the members of the Middle Temple as the badge of their society.

The Holy Lamb with *nimbus* and banner appears upon the seal to a deed dated 1273, whereby Guido de Forester, *magister militiæ Templi in Anglia et fratres ejusdem militiæ,* leased out certain lands at Pampisford, Cambridgeshire, the rent to be paid *domino Templi* in Duxworth, in the same county, where a manor called the Temple Manor still exists. The

legend of the seal consists of the cross and the words *Sigillum Templi.*

Many references to these heraldic signs of the "Lamb" and the "Winged Horse" are to be found in literature, especially in the works of Lamb and Thackeray. The following lines chalked on the Temple gate by a wit of the day, though often quoted, will bear repetition :—

"As by the Templars' hold you go,
The horse and lamb display'd,
In emblematic figures show
The merits of their trade.

"The clients may infer from thence
How just is their profession ;
The lamb sets forth their innocence,
The horse their expedition.

"Oh, happy Britons ! happy Isle !
Let foreign nations say,
Where you get justice without guile
And law without delay."

A reply was speedily forthcoming from the pen of a rival wit, whose retort courteous was found pinned alongside the above verses :—

"Deluded men, these holds forego,
Nor trust such cunning elves ;
These artful emblems tend to show
Their *clients*—not *themselves.*

"'Tis all a trick ; those are all shams
By which they mean to trick you ;
But have a care, for *you're* the *lambs*,
And they the *wolves* that eat you.

"Nor let the thoughts of 'no delay'
To these their courts misguide you ;
'Tis you're the showy *horse* and *they*
The *jockeys* that will ride you."

THE MOUND, TEMPLE CHURCH

DESCRIPTION OF PLACES

BUILDINGS belonging to the Inner Temple are known by the sign of the Winged Horse ; those belonging to the Middle by the sign of the Lamb and Cross.

The Temple Church.—Whatever differences may from time to time have existed between the two societies of the Inner and Middle Temple—and these differences sometimes reached the breaking point—were never allowed to interfere with the common love and veneration for that ancient building which they had jointly inherited from the Knights Templars.

And although their care and solicitude for this national monument of an early chapter in our history has not always been such as it ought, still, allowing for some slight laches and some misguided zeal, the Benchers of the two societies have earned our gratitude by preserving and handing down to posterity that building associated so closely with our national life in much the same state as when the poor fellow-soldiers of Christ knelt upon its flags to take the vows of poverty and purity.

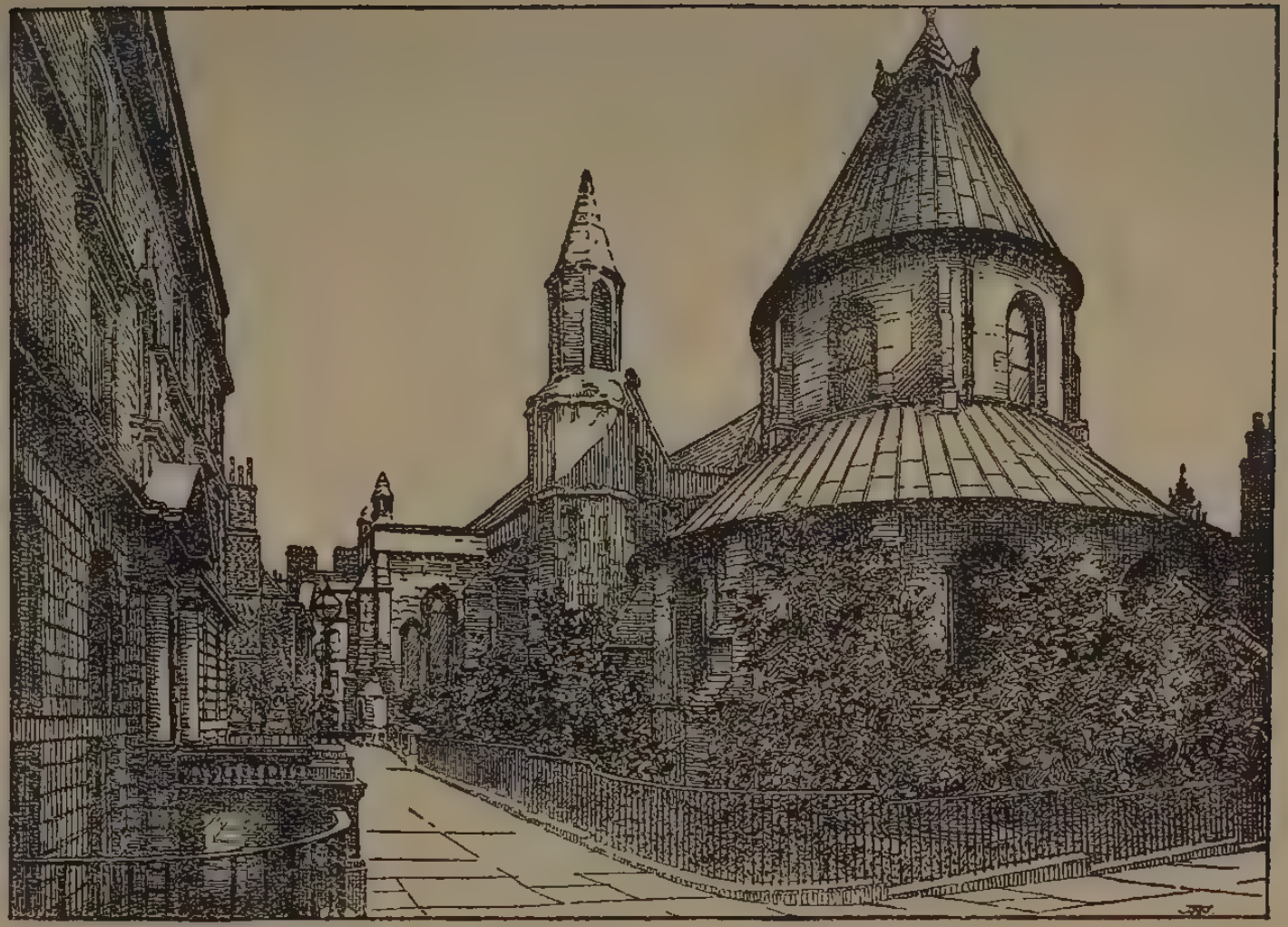
The Round.—In the year 1185 the Round was built after the model of that erected over the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, and dedicated to the Virgin Mary by Heraclius, Patriarch of the Church of the Holy Resurrection in Jerusalem, in the presence of Henry II. and his Court.

On Ascension Day, 1240, a second dedication took place before Henry III. and his barons, when, according to the best authorities, the rectangular portion of the church, as we now know it, was added.

There was, however, a chancel or choir attached to the Round, prior to 1240, extending some fifty feet in length, as the foundations still existing under the present pavement prove, but whether this building was earlier or later than the Round is uncertain. It is considered by some to date from Saxon times.

The Knights Templars and Secret Societies.—It now appears to be a well-established historical fact that the Order of the Knights Templars was one of the five great secret societies of the Middle Ages, all of which indulged in masonic symbols and mysteries. That the Eastern Order of the Assassins and that of the Knights Templars were identical is open to grave question, but it does appear that a large proportion of the Templars were imbued with the Gnostic and Manichee heresies ; that they had adopted the initiations of a corrupted and mingled Freemasonry, such as was used by the latter, and that they had close relations with the Assassins, who occupied strongholds in the immediate neighbourhood of their fortresses in Syria.

The six columns in the Round, consisting of four pillars each, and connected with the twelve columns of the exterior circle by arches which produce exact triangles ; the four doorways and the eight windows are the geometric and numerical symbols, which the Gnostics received from the later Platonists, who owned that they derived them from the secret Freemasonry of the Egyptian initiations. The resemblance of these two circular ranges of pillars to the Druidical circles of



TEMPLE CHURCH

stones cannot be a mere coincidence. Three primary symbols—the circle representing the sun, the tau or T-shaped cross eternal life, and the triangle joy—together with the oval representing the ovum or fecundity, and the square or cube, divine truth and justice, are all reproduced in the Temple Church.

At the same time, however, these may be nothing more than survivals from that sun-worship from which have evolved so many of the great religions of the world.

Turning to the decorations, many of the tiles are reproductions of those found when the pavement was lowered some sixteen inches, thus bringing to light the bases of the beautiful Purbeck marble columns of the inner circle.

The Monumental Effigies.—Of the nine mail-clad effigies it is impossible to speak with certainty. That they do not represent Knights Templars is clear, since the Templars were always buried in the habit of their Order, and are represented in it on their tombs. This habit was a long white mantle, with the red cross over the left breast; it had a short cape and hood, and fell down to the feet unconfined by any girdle. As an example, Mr. Addison cites the monument of Knight Templar Brother Jean de Dreux, in the church of St Yvod de Braine, near Soissons, clothed in a long mantle with the cross of the Order carved upon it, as described above. Yet, although not monuments of Knights Templars, these cross-legged effigies are intimately connected with the Order. They represent a class of men termed "Associates of the Temple," men who, unwilling to become full-fledged Templars by taking the vows, were yet desirous of participating in the spiritual privileges of the society without entirely

abandoning the pleasures of the world. Thus connected, they enjoyed when living the prestige of membership, and when dead the inestimable privilege of resting within those sacred precincts. And so in return for these advantages they devoted a portion of their wealth to the use of the Order, and offered their persons for the protection of its property. In the year 1209 we find William, Count of Forcalquier, dedicating himself "to the house of the chivalry of the Temple," bequeathing his own horse, with two other saddle horses, all his equipage and armour complete, and a hundred silver marks, and undertaking as long as he leads a secular life to pay a hundred pennies a year, and to take under his safeguard and protection all the property of the house wherever situate.

William of Asheby, in Lincolnshire, is another example. In consideration of being received "into confraternity" with the Knights Templars, William makes a grant to the house out of his estates.

Standing in front of the group on the N. side, the Sussex marble effigy at the top left hand is said, and probably with truth, to represent Geoffrey de Mandeville, Earl of Essex and Constable of the Tower. Rebelling against Stephen, he became one of the most violent disturbers of law and order during that troublous period. Excommunicated for the sack of Ramsey Abbey, he was in 1144 struck down when laying siege to the royal castle of Burwell, and finding repentance for his misdeeds on his death-bed, some Knights Templars alone could be found willing to render him spiritual assistance. For this assistance he appears to have rendered an adequate return, for the Templars, throwing over him the habit of their Order, carried his dead body to the Old Temple in Chancery Lane, whence

it was transferred in 1162 to the cemetery in the New Temple, and finally, on the dedication of the church, buried in the porch before the W. door.

The charge on his shield is that of a Mandeville, and is said by Gough to be the earliest instance in England of sculptured armorial bearings on a monumental effigy.

Next on the right (No. 2) is a Purbeck marble figure in low relief, which is said to be the most ancient, and which cannot be identified.

No. 3 is also of Purbeck marble, dating from the latter end of the 12th cent. The feet rest upon grotesque heads, probably representing conventional Saracens. This monument also is unappropriated, as is the case with its companion (No. 4), a remarkably fine specimen, also in Purbeck marble, which differs from all the others, as it is the only one with the mouth covered by the *chapelle de fer*, leaving the forehead, eyes and nose alone exposed.

The coped stone coffin-lid (No. 5) on the extreme N. side is also of Purbeck marble, and is said to be the tomb of William Plantagenet, the fifth son of Henry III., who, according to Weever, was buried in the Round in 1256. There appears to be little authority for this statement.

The group on the southern side are all of later date. No. 6, a fine example in Sussex marble, is generally supposed to represent William Mareschal, the great Earl of Pembroke, guardian of Henry III. But Mr. Bayliss, K.C., relying upon a statement in the Petyt MSS. to the effect that the effigy of the earl is cross-legged, throws doubt upon this supposition, and considers its companion, No. 7, a specimen of Reigate stone, to be that of William Mareschal, in which opinion

he has the support of Pennant. No. 7 is thought by some to be the effigy of William Mareschal the younger, and No. 8, also of Reigate stone, is said to be that of Gilbert, another son of William the elder, who was killed in a tournament at Hertford. No. 9 is considered by others to represent either William the younger or Gilbert, which in either case leaves one of the four unappropriated.

The monument (No. 10) on the S. side, of Roche Abbey stone, is probably that of Robert de Ros, who was one of the signatories to the Magna Carta of Henry III., and died in 1227. Others assert that an effigy of a de Ros was brought from York and placed in the church about the year 1682. The shield, which has three water bougets, the arms of the de Ros family, supports either view. De Ros was certainly not a Templar, though he was an associate.

The question whether cross-legged effigies represented Crusaders, or at any rate those who had taken the cross without actually going to the East, is now answered in the negative. Whatever the reason for this posture, numerous instances of Knights Templars thus represented are to be found in other churches in England and Ireland, although none are known on the Continent.

The font near the southern group of effigies is modern, although a copy of an ancient one at Alphington, near Exeter, of about the 12th cent.

Chapel of St Anne.—At the junction of the Round with the choir on the S. side stood the chapel of St Anne, destroyed by gunpowder in the Fire of 1679 to check its spreading to the church.

This building consisted of two floors, and both floors were oblong chambers, or double cubes. In the sym-

bolic language of Freemasonry the cube represents divine truth and justice. Viewed from any point the cube is always equal, always based upon itself, and invariably just in its proportions. Between the two floors was a flight of fourteen steps. The initiatory Freemasonry of Eleusis was conducted by means of two floors, one over the other, communicating with seven steps, but at Denderah and elsewhere the steps are fourteen. Here, then, the novice was initiated into the Order of the Knights Templars. This novitiate bore a strong resemblance to the exterior initiation practised in the Isisian and Eleusinian mysteries.

"After undergoing certain trials as a novice, the reception of the candidate took place in one of the chapels of the Order in presence of the assembled chapter. The aspirant, if no objection was taken, was led into an ante-chamber, near the chapter-room, and two of the oldest knights were sent to instruct him in all it was requisite to know. He was then brought back between the two, each holding a drawn sword over his head, to the Grand Master or his vice-regent, the Grand Prior, and kneeling with folded hands before the receptor, he took a solemn vow to be for ever the faithful slave of the Order. Again, after having first vowed perfect secrecy and perfect chastity—having sworn to 'kiss no woman, not even his sister, and to hold no child over the baptismal font'—the initiation was declared to be closed; the white mantle with the red badge was thrown over his shoulders, and he was pronounced amidst the congratulations of the chapter a free, equal, elected, and admitted brother."

Connected with the chapel of St Anne by the cloisters was the chapel of St Thomas, near the Hall

door, the patron saint of the serjeants, at whose shrine they prayed before going to St Paul's to select their pillars.

In the chapel of St Anne were kept the judicial records and writs, which were burnt in the Fire of 1679. The remains of the building may be visited by descending through an iron grating, the whole being covered by seven large flagstones.

This chapel was the resort of childless women, who came here to ask the saint's intercession.

PORCH OF THE CHURCH

The Porch.—The present porch is a survival of the ancient cloisters, to which the magnificent Norman arch owes its preservation from the elements. Upon its roof once rested a house of three stories, and the northern arch was also blocked up by an adjoining building; whilst inside the porch against this stood a stationer's shop, belonging to the firm of J. Penn and O. Lloyd in 1677, as we learn from the chief butler's accounts delivered to the Treasurer of the Inner

Temple for that year. Rather more than a century later, to wit in the year 1784, a shop-bill showing the shop *in situ*, with the firm's name "O. Lloyd and S. Gibbons, Stationers," is given in *The Gentleman's Magazine*.

The half-length figures beneath the capitals of the columns of the arch are said by a writer in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for 1783 to be those of Henry II., who holds the roll containing the grant to the Templars to erect their church, and of his Queen, Eleanor, on the opposite side. Next to the King are three Knights Templars, one of whom holds a roll signifying the possession of the royal grant. At the Queen's side is the figure of Heraclius with his hands raised in prayer, whilst those adjoining him seem to be priests in the same devout attitude.

In the accompanying illustration the arch appears to be too wide for the height. This is due to the fact that when this view was taken the pavement had not been lowered to its original and present level. Through the doorway may be discerned the screen, which at that time divided the Round from the choir, and above the screen Father Smith's famous organ.

The Choir.—The body of the church, consecrated as has been said on Ascension Day, 1240, consists of a middle and two side aisles, and is 82 ft. in length, 53 ft. in breadth and 37 ft. in height. The roof is supported by clustered columns of highly polished Purbeck marble, with richly moulded capitals, from which spring the vaulting of the middle and two aisles with central bosses. The spandrels of the middle are decorated with ornamental foliage, in which the arms of the two societies occur alternately, whilst those of the aisles have also in circles

PORCH AND DOORWAY, TEMPLE CHURCH

the triangle with three vesicas, the Latin and Greek crosses, the Beaucéant banner, the Crescent under the Cross and a quadruple vesica.

The first monument on entering the choir to the right is that of a bust of the learned divine, Richard Hooker, a Master of the Temple in the 16th cent. Just below is the grave of Selden, whose mural tablet, which for some unexplained reason was formerly in the N.E. corner of the choir, has now been restored to its original position.

We come next to a recess behind the S.E. stalls, occupied by a handsome effigy of a bishop under a canopy. It is attributed to Silvester de Everden, Bishop of Carlisle from 1247 to 1255, and sometime Chancellor of England.

Near the S.E. corner is a double piscina of Purbeck marble and an aumbry. In the N.E. corner is another aumbry, or cupboard for the holy vessels or utensils.

Under the communion table is an old oak chest, containing the charter-deeds of the two societies. There are two keys to this chest, which are kept by the Treasurers, in the presence of whom alone can it be opened.

The stained glass in the choir, as in the Round, is all modern. In the E. windows of the aisles the Knights Templars are well represented with their banners, the Beaucéant, the Red Cross and the Cross triumphant over the Crescent.

The frescoes on the W. wall of the choir represent Henry I. bearing the Beaucéant banner; Stephen with the device of St George on a silver field; Henry II. holding a model of the Round; Richard I., also carrying a model of the church; Henry, the eldest son of Henry II.; John with a model of the church as in

his time; and Henry III., also with a model of the church as restored in 1240.

At the E. end are two small doors, which form the private entrance for the Benchers of the two societies.

The Penitential Cell.—At the N.W. corner of the choir is a small Norman door opening upon a dark winding staircase leading to the triforium.

On the left of the stairs in the thickness of the wall is the Penitential Cell, 4 ft. 6 in. long and 2 ft. 6 in. wide, so constructed as to render it impossible for a grown man to lie down. "In this miserable cell," writes Addison, "were confined the refractory and disobedient brethren of the Temple, and those who were enjoined severe penance with solitary confinement. Its dark secrets have long since been buried in the tomb, but one sad tale of misery and horror connected with it has been brought to light."

From the witnesses who were examined by the papal inquisitors at St Martin's church and St Botolph's we learn that a Knight Templar, Brother Walter le Bacheler, Grand Preceptor of Ireland, was imprisoned here in chains for disobedience to the Master of the Temple, and here died from the severity of his confinement. His body was carried at early dawn from this solitary cell by Brothers John de Stoke and Radulph de Barton to the old churchyard between the church and the Hall, and there consigned to the grave. Two small windows admit light and air, one looking eastward into the choir, so that the prisoner might see and hear the offices carried on at the high altar, and the other looking southward into the Round. At the bottom of the staircase is a stone recess where bread and water for the prisoner were placed.

The Triforium.—Ascending the narrow winding

stairs, the triforium is reached through a small doorway. This is a covered gallery formed by the roof of the outer aisle of the Round. Here have been removed the greater part of the monuments and mural tablets which once disfigured the walls and columns of the church below.

Immediately to the left is the kneeling figure of Richard Martin, Recorder of London and Treasurer of the Inner Temple, who died in 1615, whilst nearly opposite is a mural tablet recording the death of William Petyt, also Treasurer of the Inner Temple, in October, 1707. Beyond, within a canopy, lies the recumbent figure of Edmund Plowden, the famous jurist, who died in 1584. Passing under a small arch, we come to a tablet in memory of Anne, wife of Edward Littleton, and granddaughter of Lord Chancellor Bromley; whilst farther still are the memorial to Jacob Howell, royal historian, 1666, and the tablet to Oliver Goldsmith, erected by the Benchers of the Inner Temple in 1837. On the N.W. side is the monument to the beautiful and accomplished Miss Mary Gaudy, who died a victim to small-pox at the early age of twenty-two, in the year 1671. The family of Gaudy had for generations been connected with the Inner Temple. Upon this monument is the following epitaph :—

> "This faire young virgin, for a nuptiall bed
> More fitt, is lodg'd (sad fate !) amongst the dead ;
> Stormed by rough windes, soe falls in all her pride
> The full blowne rose design'd to addorne a bride."

Hard by is a tablet to Richard Jewkes, one of the executors of Selden.

Other well-known names here are those of Clement Coke, the youngest son of the great Chief Justice ; John Wharry, Daines Barrington, Peter Pierson, and Randle

Jackson, all immortalized by Charles Lamb, and Henry Blackstone, son of Sir William.

All interested in the study of heraldry will find ample material here in the many-quartered arms and ancient devices.

This gallery was originally open to the sky, the conical roof only covering the inner circle. Possibly this was for purposes of defence, and would correspond with the Norman fortified churches, of which so many survive in the Auvergne. Here people used to walk, which explains the references to persons taking the air on the leads of the Temple church.

At the time of the suppression of the Templars in 1307 there were in residence a Master, William de la More, twelve brethren, a preceptor, a treasurer, six chaplains, and five clerks, besides servants. When the Knights Hospitallers leased to the lawyers they reserved to themselves the consecrated places and such tenements as they required for their own use, and appointed as *custos* or *magister* an official who, assuming the old title of the Master of the Templars, was known as " the Master of the New Temple," and who was responsible to the Prior of St John of Clerkenwell not only for the maintenance of the ecclesiastical buildings, but also for the due performance of the services in the church. In the year 1378 the clerical staff consisted of the Master, Brother John Bartylby, and four chaplains, Sir Robert Kirkeby, Sir Thomas Weston, Sir William Eversam, and Sir Barnard Barton.

For the maintenance of the priests the Hospitallers alone were responsible right up to the Reformation, the lawyers contributing nothing except upon the eighteen offering days, so that each fellow paid 18d. per annum.

After the dissolution of the Order of St John the

Master, the Rev. William Ermsted, and four stipendiary priests, with a clerk, were left undisturbed, and their stipends ordered to be paid out of the possessions and revenues of the late Order.

In 1542 William Ermsted leased the Master's mansion, with the exception of "two honest chambers" for the four priests, to Sir John Baker, a Bencher of The Inner and Speaker of the House of Commons. In the reign of Mary the Prior of St John was reinstated, but Master Ermsted, like the Vicar of Bray, was able to accommodate himself to the Queen's religious views, as he was able subsequently to do upon the accession of Elizabeth. Ermsted was succeeded by Dr. Alvey, a distinguished divine who had suffered under Mary, and from this time both societies began to act jointly in the ecclesiastic affairs of the Temple.

The reversion in the Master's mansion and grounds having passed to a Mr. Roper, were purchased by the two Inns in 1585 for the Master's residence. Owing to the sickness of Canon Alvey, Mr. Walter Travers was appointed to supply his place as preacher, but upon the death of the former, Richard Hooker was nominated by Elizabeth, and the strange spectacle was witnessed of the Master and the Reader preaching against each other in the same church; as it was said, "The forenoon sermon spake Canterbury, and the afternoon Geneva." The situation created much dissension in the Temple, which continued in spite of the departure of Travers, and until Hooker, "weary of the noise and opposition of the place," resigned in 1591.

Under the patent of James I. the two societies bound themselves to maintain and support the church, and to provide the Master with a convenient mansion, and to pay him a yearly stipend of £17 6s. 8d., the ecclesi-

astical buildings finally vesting in the two societies. By this time the church was in a ruinous and dilapidated condition, and as much as £2300 in our money was spent in three years by the two societies in repairs. In the reign of Elizabeth rules had been passed for the compulsory attendance at church, and partaking at least once a quarter of the Holy Communion. Dr. Masters, appointed Master in 1601, gave great offence by administering the sacrament to members of the Inner Temple before those of the Middle. The matter was referred to a joint committee of both Houses, which found that there was no distinction between the two Houses, and the bread and wine were ordered to be administered alternately on alternate Sundays to the members of each society respectively.

In 1634 an attempt was made to clear away the small buildings, which clung as excrescences to the church, but the Middle Temple declining to demolish those chambers belonging to them, the only result was the removal of a sempstress' shop, the property of the Inner Temple.

Upon the death of Dr. Masters in 1628, Dr. Micklethwaite was appointed Master of the Temple, with unfortunate consequences. A High Churchman and follower of Laud, he soon came into conflict with the Puritan element in the Temple. He refused to be bound by the compromise on the Communion, and claimed precedence at the Bench Table. When Lord Keeper Coventry and the judges dined with the Bench on one occasion, Dr. Micklethwaite usurped the Lord Keeper's seat, and removed the gold-embroidered purse. He was in consequence bidden "to forbear the Hall till he was sent for."

Dr. Micklethwaite, however, was not to be put upon,

and in his petition to the King he explains how the church "has ever been a church of eminency, and a choir church exempt from episcopal jurisdiction." He complains of the position of the pulpit and altar, and of the appropriation by the Fine Office of the chapel of St Anne. As a result the pulpit was removed to the side, the altar replaced on the raised platform at the E. end, and an iron-bound oak chest purchased for the church plate and ornaments. St Anne's chapel, however, was not cleared. The altar or table had no doubt previously stood in the body of the choir, in accordance with Puritan custom. A claim by the doctor of a tithe or 10 per cent of all the lawyers' fees as part of his stipend was very naturally strongly resented. He retaliated by keeping the church doors locked, and not allowing the conferences of the two Houses to take place in the Round, which had also been a resort of persons bent on business or pleasure, like the parvies of St. Paul's. Micklethwaite's successor was Dr. John Littleton, a member of the distinguished family of lawyers and divines, who, upon the outbreak of the Civil War, followed the King and was sequestered by the Long Parliament in August, 1644. Thus the Temple was for two years without a Master.

The choir was divided between the two societies, the S. side being consigned to the Inner Temple and the N. to the Middle. A great number of members and others are buried in the choir itself and in the vaults under the Master's garden.

The Round appears to have been used by both Houses in common, and continued after Micklethwaite's time to be one of the customary places where rents could be paid, mortgages discharged, and other contracts completed, and to be used as a place for

lounge and conversation, for conferences between the two Houses.

In Ben Jonson's *Alchemist* several allusions to this practice occur. Partinax Surley, the gamester, agrees to meet Captain Face here "upon earnest business," but fails to keep his appointment, whereupon the latter exclaims—

> "I have walk'd the Round
> Till now, and no such thing."

The following reference to the Round from Butler's *Hudibras* is, however, better known :—

> "Retain all sorts of witnesses
> That ply i' the Temple under trees,
> Or walk the Round with Knights o' the Posts
> About the cross-legged Knights their hosts;
> Or wait for customers between
> The pillar rows in Lincoln's Inn."

Under the Commonwealth of course the arrangements in the church were again changed, and much damage and loss suffered, but very considerable repairs, nevertheless, amounting to £3000 in present value, were carried out. For a year or two the celebrated John Tombs, a great scholar and rival of Richard Baxter, was Master. Dr. Ralph Brownrigg, who succeeded, by his moderation became very popular. He was buried in the church and a monument erected to his memory.

His successor was Dr. John Gauden, who claimed to be the author of the *Eikon Basilike*. He became Bishop of Exeter.

The church, which had been kept in good repair by the Benchers of the Commonwealth, was much neglected during the early years of Charles II., owing no doubt to other heavy calls for rebuilding the houses destroyed in the Great Fire.

From the petition of John Playford, clerk of the church, presented to the Benchers of both societies in 1675, we find several matters in the church which required speedy repair :—

" First, the doors in the screen which parts the church are at this time much decayed and broken, as they are no security to the church, wherein now standeth the chest with your communion plate and also the several vestments and books belonging to the church.

" Second, the pulpit is so rotten at this time and decayed as it is in great danger of falling ; also the velvet before the pulpit and the cushion thereto belonging are both so much decayed and worn out, having been so often mended, as much longer they cannot be serviceable.

" Third, there is at this time great want of a good bell in the steeple, which want may soon be supplied if your masterships shall please to give order that those two bells now in the steeple, which are both cracked and useless, be cast into one ; it will make an excellent bell that will be heard into all the courts belonging to both societies.

" Fourth, the two surplices at this time belonging to the church are both worn out, one of which is allowed by the honourable society."

A committee was immediately appointed, and repairs estimated at £300 were under consideration, when the disastrous fires of 1677 and 1679 put a stop for the time to all ideas of restoration.

That Playford's suggestion of recasting the two bells was eventually carried out is shown by the inscription borne by the present bell :—

" Sir R. Sawyer A. G. t. Inner Temple, Sir Henry Chauncy t. Middle Temple, John Bartlet made me 1686."

In 1681 the restoration, including the repairs recommended by Playford, were commenced under the direction of Sir Christopher Wren. The church was entirely repaved with alternate squares of black and white marble, and the walls wainscoted up to the bottom of the windows. The altar was reconstructed, the carved background, the work of Grinling Gibbons, reaching several feet above the bottom of the E. central window. The whole church was repewed, and a new pulpit provided. At the opening, on 11 February, 1683, the Bishop of Rochester preached, and was entertained at a dinner given by the Benchers of the two Inns at the Master's house.

Soon after the restoration took place the great historic contest between two rival organ-makers, Bernard Schmidt, known as "Father Smith," and Harris, to supply the church with a new organ. The trials lasted for a twelvemonth, and finally Jeffreys was called in to act as arbitrator in the dispute.

Jeffreys is said to have been a splendid musician, and to have acted in the capacity of a musical expert, but it seems more probable that he was invited to intervene as Lord Chancellor, to whom it was usual to refer all matters of controversy which arose in the Inns of Court.

According to Burney, Jeffreys was selected as arbitrator when he was still Lord Chief Justice, in June, 1685, just before he set out for the notorious "Bloody Assize." He only received the Great Seal in the following October, as his reward for his share in this ghastly business. He appears, however, to have been only officially appointed arbitrator in February, 1686.

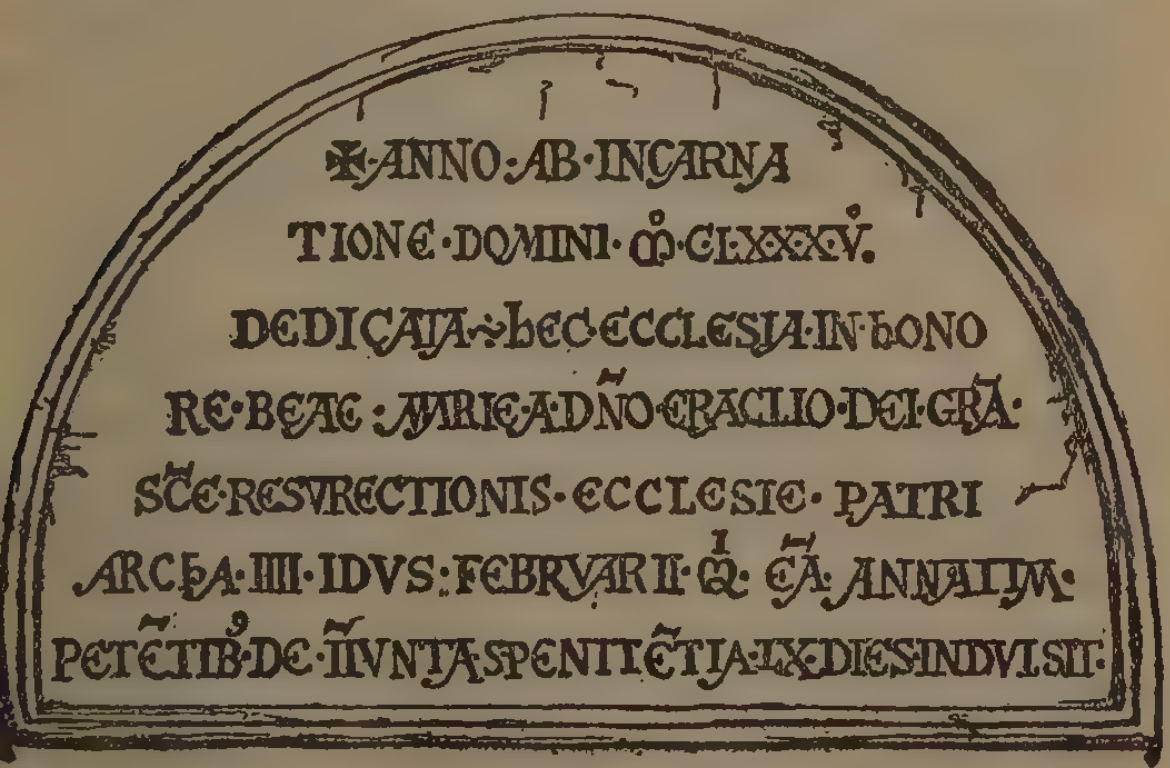
Whatever the reason of Jeffreys' appointment, he settled the business by selecting Smith's organ, which was placed in the gallery under the central arch

between the Round and the choir, thus effectually blocking the beautiful effect of the view from end to end of the interior.

According to Luttrell this organ cost £1500, and he relates how, in 1696, the pipes being foul, "a scaffold was erected for the cleaning thereof, and the pipes being laid thereon, the scaffold fell down, much bruised the men and broke most of the pipes."

These pipes were apparently very roughly finished externally, and when remonstrances were made to Smith upon the matter he is reported to have replied, "I do not care if ze pipe looks like von teufel; I shall make him schpeak like von engel." According to experts their beauty and sweetness of tone have never been excelled.

In 1691 the S.W. front was "new built with stone," and the ancient inscription, dated 1185, recording the



ANCIENT INSCRIPTION

dedication of the Round, destroyed by a careless workman.

This inscription was over the door under the second window from the porch, which formerly led into the cloisters on the S.W. side of the Round. It has been thus translated by Addison :—

"On the 10th of February
in
the year From the Incarnation of our Lord 1185,
this Church was consecrated in Honour of
the Blessed Mary
By the Lord Heraclius
By
the Grace of God Patriarch of the Church
of the Resurrection,
Who
Hath Indulged all those annually visiting it with sixty
Days of Penance enjoined them."

Three years later considerable repairs were carried out under the direction of the Treasurers of the two societies at a cost of £230. On the S.W. exterior, where the door leading to the cloisters formerly stood, the following inscription recorded this restoration :—

"Vetustate Consumptum : Impensis
Utriusque Societatis Restitutum.
Nich. C[ourtney] } Arm. Thesaur."
Rogero Bellingham }

At the beginning of the 18th cent. the church was whitewashed, gilt and painted within, the pillars of the Round wainscoted, the effigies of the Knights Templars repaired and painted, and the exterior E. and N. walls restored. In 1736 these latter were again repaired more extensively, and the interior redecorated.

During this period, from 1704 to 1753, Thomas

Sherlock, Bishop of London, was Master of the Temple, when the following epigram was penned :—

"At the Temple one day Sherlock, taking a boat,
The waterman asked him, 'Which way will you float?'
'Which way?' says the Doctor. 'Why, fool, with the stream.'
To St. Paul's or to Lambeth was all one to him."

Upon his resignation, Sherlock took leave of the two societies in terms very flattering to their members. "I esteem my relation to the two societies," he writes, "to have been the great happiness of my life, as it introduced me to the acquaintance of some of the greatest men of the age, and afforded me the opportunities of improvement by living and conversing with gentlemen of a liberal education and of great learning and experience."

Another famous Master was Dr. Thomas Thurlow, afterwards Bishop of Durham, and brother of the still more famous Lord Chancellor.

From 1798 to 1826 Thomas Rennell, Dean of Westminster, was Master. His wife was a daughter of Sir William Blackstone, and it was during his term of office that, in 1811, the church underwent a general repair. The real restoration, however, only commenced in 1825, when Sir Robert Smirke restored the whole S. side and the lower portion of the Round.

Under the first window, S. of the porch, a tablet has recently been erected recording this restoration, which was completed in 1827, when the remains of St Anne's chapel still above ground were swept away. Meanwhile, in 1819, the houses and shops against the church had been removed.

These repairs cost the two societies nearly £23,000.

During some excavations near the Templars' tombs in the Round in 1830 a portion of a pyx, or small

shrine, was discovered. The original shrine was probably oblong in shape, and this brass-work attached to one of its ends. It consists of three mail-clad figures in high relief, supposed to be Roman soldiers watching, with bowed heads, the body of Christ. They are in the costume of Norman soldiers of the early part of the 12th cent., similar to those in the Bayeux tapestry. The relic is therefore of earlier date than the present church, and was probably brought by the Templars from their first establishment in Chancery Lane. It was formerly in the possession of General Pitt Rivers.

The seal of Berengar was also found here at the same time. He succeeded De Pim as Custos, or Grand Master, of the Knights Hospitallers in 1365.

In 1840 the restoration was renewed, with the results that we now see. A conical roof was added to the tower, thereby restoring it to its original form. The belfry has recently been restored. The 13th-cent. preceptory seal of Ferreby North, in Yorkshire, exhibits a round church with a conical roof. The marigold W. window, blocked up when the house was built over the porch about the year 1700, was restored, the floor was lowered and retiled, the accumulations of plaster and paint removed from the marble columns, and the whole building restored, as far as possible, to its original state. The marigold or wheel window is thought by some antiquarians to be a copy of the Roman chariot wheel.

The chapel of St Anne still remains to be rebuilt, and, in view of its past history and associations, it is to be hoped that this work will eventually be undertaken. Commencing with an estimate of between £3000 and £4000, these repairs ultimately cost the enormous sum of £53,000.

At the completion of the restoration, in 1845, the Queen Dowager visited the church, the only queen who had entered the Temple since good Queen Bess. A few days later the Duke of Cambridge and other members of the Royal Family attended a full choral service here.

The Communion Plate.—The plate belonging to the church contains many pieces of greater age than might have been expected, considering how closely connected the two societies were with the events of the Civil War.

Mr. Bayliss, K.C., has given a list, from which it will be seen that all but one piece is anterior to the troubles, and even this is dated with the year of the King's execution. The communion plate then consists of two chalices, one inscribed with the name of "Nicholas Overburye, Treasurer of the Middle Temple" (the father of Sir Thomas Overburye, poisoned by the Somersets), and "George Croke, Treasurer of the Inner Temple," and dated 1610. The second chalice bears the name of "Nicholas Overburye" and the same date. Two small patens, dated 1610, and two larger patens with coat of arms with two chevrons, dated 1627. Three flagons bearing similar coats of arms, dated 1637, and one flagon dated 1648.

Brick Court.—Half-way down Middle Temple Lane, between Child's Place and the Hall, lies Brick Court, so called, it is said, from being the first structure in brick in the Temple, and to which Spenser is supposed to allude in the lines from the *Prothalamion*, when, speaking of the wedding retinue of the Ladies Somerset, they reached at last—

> "Those bricky towers,
> The which on Themmes brode aged back doo ride,
> Where now the studious lawyers have their bowers,
> There whilome went the Temple Knights to bide,
> Till they decayed through pride."

Before the Fire of 1679 the court was divided into two courts, buildings abutting right on to the lane. In the court to the N. was a garden. The buildings dividing the two courts, and those abutting on the

NOS. 1 AND 2 BRICK COURT

Lane, were destroyed in the Fire. Almost the whole court was again destroyed by fire in 1703, commemorated by the following inscription, "Phœnicis instar revivisco: Martino Ryder Thesaurario, 1704."

The W. side now standing was then rebuilt and the

S. side apparently about the same time, for in 1708, £410 was paid by the Inn to Michael Noble for chambers erected on the S. side of Brick Court. The latter, which represents No. 1, was found to be unsafe and pulled down and rebuilt in 1908. Nos. 2 and 3 are those of 1704, whilst Nos. 4 and 5 were rebuilt in 1883, and represent those chambers ordered "to be set more northwards" in 1679.

It was at No. 2 that Oliver Goldsmith lived the last nine years of a chequered life. He first came to the Temple early in 1764, removing thither from Wine Office Court. His first chambers were on the old Library staircase, the present site of Plowden Buildings, which he shared with Jeffs, the butler of the Middle. These were doubtless humble enough, and when Johnson, visiting him here, pryed and peered about in his short-sighted fashion, Goldsmith's vanity was touched. "I shall soon be in even better chambers than these," he cried out. "Nay, sir," answered Johnson; "never mind that—nil te quæsiveris extra." Goldsmith then appears to have removed to Gray's Inn, and shortly after to have taken chambers for a brief period at No. 3 King's Bench Walk. In 1767, however, he was more permanently established at No. 2 Brick Court, up "two pair right." These chambers, flushed with the proceeds of the *Good-Natured Man*, he had purchased for £400, and furnished extravagantly with furniture upholstered in blue velvet, showy carpets and gilt mirrors. Here he spent his money faster than he made it, in dinners to Johnson, Percy Reynolds, Bickerstaff, Francis, Dr. Arne and other literary celebrities, and in supper parties to young people of both sexes, much to the discomfiture of the studious Blackstone, whose chambers were just below, and who,

then hard at work on the fourth volume of his famous *Commentaries*, complained bitterly of the racket made "by his revelling neighbour." Blackstone's successor, Mr. Children, made a similar complaint.

In these chambers Goldsmith died in 1774, to the

GOLDSMITH'S TOMB

grief of all those in the Temple, to whom he had endeared himself, and was carried to his last resting-place in Churchyard Court through groups of weeping women. So little did the Benchers value him that all trace of his tomb disappeared, and the low tombstone now in position only approximately covers his remains.

In these chambers twenty years later a Miss Broderick shot her lover, Mr. Eddington, who had deserted her.

Another inmate of Brick Court about this time was Lloyd Kenyon, called by the Middle in 1756. His slender means obliged him to practise the strictest economy, which hardened into parsimony lasting all his life. In later years he frequently boasted of dining with Dunning and Horne Tooke at a small eating-house near Chancery Lane for 7½d. a head. He defended Lord George Gordon at the Old Bailey, with Erskine as his junior. He succeeded Lord Mansfield as head of the King's Bench and was created a peer.

At No. 2 also Winthrop Mackworth Praed, the poet, had chambers. After a brilliant career at Cambridge, where he read classics with Macaulay, he was called to the Bar by the Middle in 1829, and went the Northern Circuit. He entered Parliament in 1830 as the purchaser of a rotten borough, abolished by the Reform Act, which he had opposed. Whilst without a seat he contributed both prose and verse to the *Morning Post*, which became, it is said in consequence of his contributions, the leading Conservative organ.

Thackeray also had chambers here from 1853 to 1859.

At No. 1, John Duke Coleridge shared chambers with Bowen. Like Simon Harcourt and Heneage Finch, Coleridge was deservedly styled the "silver-tongued," for with the exception of Cockburn, Gladstone, Sir Robert Peel and Father Burke, according to Lord Russell, he had no superior in beauty of voice and power of rhetoric.

It is with the Tichborne case that the name of Coleridge will be best remembered. In the opinion of Lord Russell, his cross-examination of Tichborne was the best piece of work Coleridge ever did, and his

speech a masterly exposition of complicated facts. On the death of Bovill in 1873, Coleridge was appointed Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and in 1880 he succeeded Cockburn as the first Lord Chief Justice of England since the Justiciars of Norman times.

Junior counsel with Coleridge in the Tichborne case, Charles Bowen's almost superhuman efforts led to his appointment as Attorney-General's devil, a sure stepping-stone to professional advancement. In 1879 he was raised to the Queen's Bench, and in 1882 succeeded Lord Justice Holker in the Court of Appeal.

Although a member of Lincoln's Inn, Charles Russell occupied chambers for the greater part of his professional life in the Temple. Called in 1859, he was till 1866 at 5 Pump Court, when he moved to No. 3 Brick Court, where he remained till his migration to No. 10 New Court, Carey Street, in 1885. Russell commenced life as a solicitor in Belfast. Coming to town, he speedily acquired a practice at the Bar. Taking silk in 1872, Russell, in spite of such powerful opponents as Holker, Benjamin and Herschell, became leader of the Northern Circuit, and in town his services were retained in almost every important case. His great speech in the Parnell Commission is regarded as a masterpiece of eloquence, placing him on a level with Erskine and Berryer.

So keenly did Russell throw himself heart and soul into his cases, that when a great trial, like the Maybrick case, went against him, he was almost heart-broken. Of him Lord Coleridge once said, "He is the biggest advocate of the century." For a brief period a Lord Justice, on the death of Lord Coleridge he became Lord Chief Justice, and of him we may truly say that a greater judge never adorned the Bench.

His power of getting at the truth of a case was phenomenal, and in *causes célèbres*, such as the Jameson trial at Bar, when he presided with Baron Pollock and Mr. Justice Hawkins, he was seen at his best. In dignity, in abstention from all vain personal intrusion, in prompt and firm grasp of facts, he was at least the equal, some say the superior, of his brilliant predecessor Cockburn.

The acknowledged advocate of his time, master of the art of cross-examination, a great judge, he is also known on the Continent and in the United States, through his services as counsel at the Behring Sea Arbitration and as an arbitrator at the Venezuelan Arbitration, as a leading English jurist.

Another distinguished occupant of No. 1 was Sir William Reynell Anson, Bart., M.P., Warden of All Souls College, a successor of Blackstone in the Vinerian Chair and a well-known figure in modern Oxford.

At No. 4 Sir R. H. Collins, called by the Middle in 1867, carried on an enormous practice. He became successively a judge of the King's Bench Division, Master of the Rolls and a Lord of Appeal in Ordinary. A man of immense legal attainments, he was regarded as one of our leading lawyers. He represented Great Britain at the Venezuela and British Guiana Arbitration in 1897. He was raised to the peerage as Lord Collins. With him, at No. 4, was Mr. Justice Lush, son of Sir Robert Lush, a Lord Justice of Appeal. Mr. Justice Lush was a member of Gray's Inn.

Sundials are a special feature of the Temple, with their quaint moral precepts—

> "Swift flew the busy hours and swift
> Their quiet shadows round the dials moved,
> That in the Temple courtyards faced the sun."

Here in Brick Court the passer-by is informed that "Time and tide tarry for no man," and from this time-piece Goldsmith must often have taken the hour. This replaced an older one which perished in the fire at the beginning of the 18th cent., and bore the odd motto, "Begone about your business," said to have been addressed by an absent-minded Treasurer of the day to the lad from the dial-maker, who had called for an appropriate inscription.

This explanation is highly ingenious, but the motto is well known to archæologists, and is characteristic of such reminders of the flight of time and the necessity of punctuality. It may be seen to-day on the sundial upon a buttress of the church of St James at Bury St Edmunds, as well as elsewhere.

Churchyard Court, N.—This Court, together with its name, has long since disappeared. The first mention in the records of the Inner occurs in the year 1612. It appears to have consisted of a row of chambers running from the church porch, upon which the S. end abutted, almost up to the present Goldsmith Buildings and parallel with the Lane. It stood upon the site of the present churchyard. Indeed, another block of chambers separated by a narrow passage lay to the E., built against the N. side of the Round. These buildings were rebuilt in 1717, the foundation of which is recorded by a tablet erected by the Treasurer of the Inner, John Holloway. This tablet is now on the Library stairs. Both blocks were removed in 1828.

The Cloisters.—The quadrangle formed by the church and the Master's house on the N., by Bradshaw's Rents on the E., by the old Hall, Treasurer's house, the Library, Packington's and Babington's Rents on the S., was completed by the erection of

chambers over the Cloisters. When these were erected is unknown, but they were in existence in 1526, for in that year a Mr. Grenfeld was "admitted to a chamber over the Cloisters." Only a portion, however, of these Cloisters—that nearest the Hall—was built over. The old Cloisters of the Knights Templars, with

THE CLOISTERS

the "low mean buildings" above, were destroyed in the Fire of 1679. They extended only over half the present width.

Upon the rebuilding after the Fire the Benchers of the Middle Temple, to whom they belonged, wished to utilize the Cloisters themselves for chambers; but this was prevented by Lord Chancellor Finch, then Attorney-General, who would, as Roger North relates,

have none of it, and "reproved the Middle Templars very wittily and eloquently upon the subject of students walking in evenings there and putting cases, which, he said, was done in his time, mean and low as the buildings were then."

And so the Cloisters as they now stand were erected by Sir Christopher Wren. In Pump Court the following inscription may be seen :—

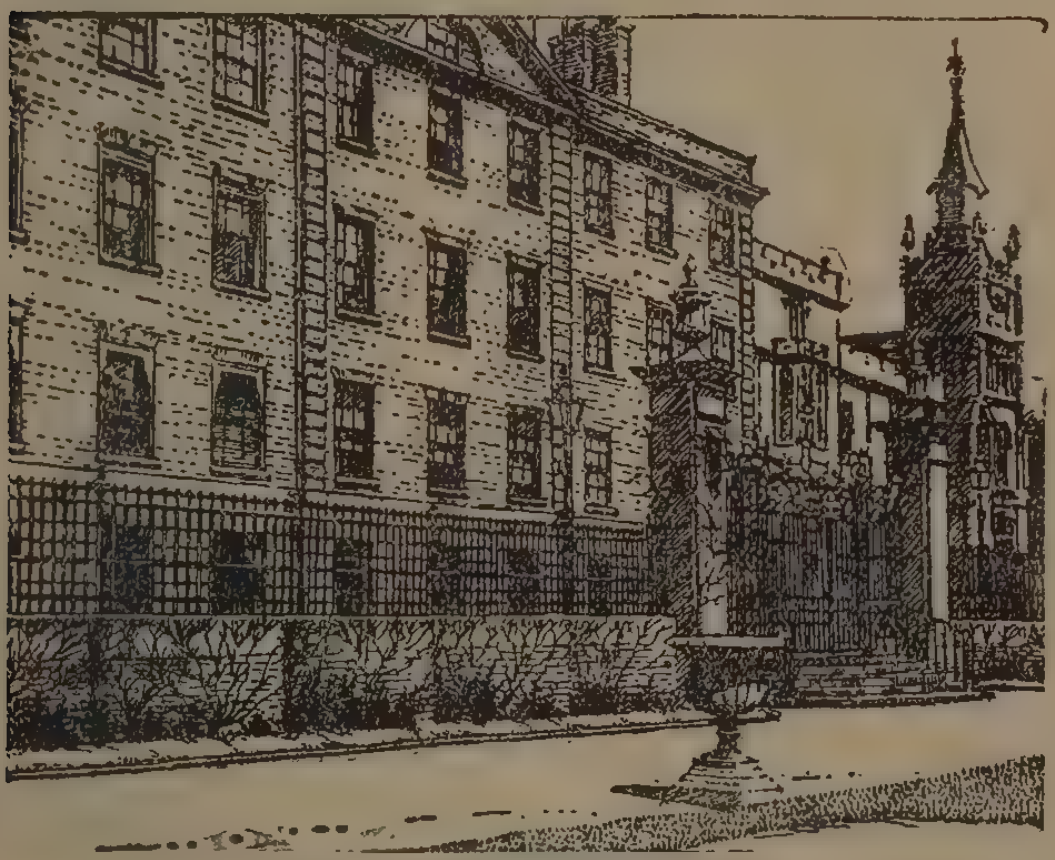
"Vetustissima Templariorum Porticu Igne Consumpta An° 1678. Nova hæc sumptibus medij Templi extructa An° 1681. Guilelmo Whitelocke: Arm. Thesaur°."

Next to the staircase of No. 1, with a window looking into Pump Court, is the shop of a wig-maker, a successor to Dick Danby, the barber, a well-known character and gossip of the time of Lord Chancellor Campbell, who refers to him in his *Lives of the Chief Justices*. He it was who cut the future Lord Chancellor's hair and made his wigs, and as Campbell adds, "aided him at all times with his valuable advice."

No. 2 was rebuilt in 1825.

Crown Office Row.—The Clerk of the Crown had his office, like many other officials of the Courts, in the Temple from the reign of Henry VII. until the removal of the Crown Office in 1882 to the Royal Courts of Justice in the Strand. In 1523 this officer was Thomas Blake, and in 1613 Fanshawe was charged an annual rent of £3 6s. 8d. This office is described as lying between Fig Tree Court and the Watergate on the E. side of Middle Temple Lane. It is now represented by No. 7 over the archway, which was rebuilt in 1806. The Crown Office was removed from this site to No. 2 King's Bench Walk in 1621, and the old building pulled down and rebuilt in 1628.

It was at No. 2 Crown Office Row, in a back room, that Charles Lamb was born, and here he spent the first twenty years of his life. These buildings were erected in 1737, partly replacing a row of chambers rebuilt in 1628, described by Dugdale as "The Great Brick buildings over against the Garden."



NO. 2 CROWN OFFICE ROW

It was from an upstairs window that Lamb, as a boy, used to stand watching the lawyers pacing the Terrace below whom he has depicted so delightfully in *The Old Benchers of the Inner Temple*.

Here walked to and fro Jekyll with the roguish eye, ever ready to be delivered of a jest; Thomas Coventry, of elephantine step, "the scarecrow of inferiors, the browbeater of equals and superiors, the terror of

children wherever he came, for they fled his insufferable presence as they would have shunned an Elisha bear" ; Peter Pierson, benevolent but ugly ; Daines Barrington, "another oddity" ; old Barton, "a jolly negation" ; Read and Twopenny, the one good-humoured and personable, the other thin and felicitous ; Wharry, with "the singular gait," which did not seem to advance him faster than other people ; the omniscient Jackson, the Friar Bacon of the less literate portion of the Temple ; Mingay with the iron hand ; and last but not least, the genial Salt, the life-long benefactor of John Lamb and his children, who had acquired a great reputation for learning, but who was wont to hand over any troublesome case for opinion to "Lovell" (Charles' father), his clerk and factotum, to be elucidated by the light of nature and such common sense as the worthy Lovell possessed.

Jekyll of "the roguish eye," K.C. and Solicitor-General to the Prince of Wales, occupied No. 6 King's Bench Walk in 1808. He was Member of Parliament for the pocket borough of Calne, which had returned Charles Townshend, and subsequently sent T. B. Macaulay to the House.

The Thomas Coventry referred to by Lamb was a descendant of Lord Keeper Coventry, a Bencher of the Inner, 1614.

Daines Barrington, whose eccentricities so attracted Lamb, cut rather a poor figure at the English Bar, though he was successively promoted a King's Counsel and a Welsh judge. These judgeships during the 18th cent. were generally given to briefless barristers. He became Treasurer of the Inner, and had chambers at No. 5 King's Bench Walk.

Such reputation as he had was literary rather than

legal, and he incurred the wrath of Serjeant Pulling for his attempt to belittle the ancient and noble Order of the Coif.

Of the other Benchers little is known beyond their addresses in the Law List.

Another literary inmate of Crown Office Row was William Makepeace Thackeray. Born at Calcutta in 1811, little Thackeray came to England after the death of his father in 1817, and in due course went to the Charterhouse, where he somewhat belied his second name by his celebrated fight with Venables on the Lower Green. It was on this occasion that his nose was broken, a lifelong disfigurement.

In 1831 young Thackeray became a member of the Middle Temple, commencing his legal studies by reading with Mr. William Taprell, a special pleader, whose chambers were at 1 Hare Court.

Special pleading in those days was a branch quite distinct from advocacy, and its study had no attraction for Thackeray, who denounced this part of a barrister's education "as one of the most cold-blooded, prejudiced pieces of invention that ever man was slave to." So disgusted was Thackeray that within a twelvemonth he threw up all idea of the law and devoted himself to literary pursuits. That his genius took a direction other than the law is fortunate for us, since he has bequeathed to posterity some of the most faithful and delightful pictures of life in the Temple to be found in English literature. Of these pictures many indeed are as true to-day of Temple life as when they were drawn, for lawyers are everywhere a conservative class, and perhaps nowhere more so than in the Inns of Court, within whose precincts old customs and by-gone manners survive in all their pristine strength to

remind us of the past. It may still be said, for instance, of dining in the Middle Temple Hall, as when Thackeray sat at mess in his student's gown, "that with some trifling improvements and anachronisms, which have been introduced into the practice there, a man may sit down and fancy that he joins in a meal of the seventeenth century."

It was soon after the publication of *Vanity Fair* that Thackeray's friend, Monckton Milnes, conceived the idea of obtaining for the novelist a London magistracy, and with a view to this appointment Thackeray returned to the Temple and was called to the Bar on 26 May, 1848. Both Milnes and Thackeray, however, had overlooked the necessary qualification, viz. seven years' standing at the Bar, and so the project fell to the ground. Nevertheless, Thackeray took chambers at 10 Crown Office Row. He is said to have shared these chambers with Tom Taylor, the dramatist and subsequent editor of *Punch*, with which Thackeray was then connected. For this assertion I can find no direct confirmation. Taylor had chambers at this period at 3 Fig Tree Court, which, however, he may have used merely for business purposes. Thackeray occupied No. 10 till the year 1850–1, and for the following two years he had no address in the Temple. In 1853 he returned to the Temple and took chambers at No. 2 Brick Court, which address appears in the Law Lists up to 1859.

From a poem by Tom Taylor, entitled "Ten Crown Office Row: a Templar's Tribute to his Old Chambers and his Old Chum," it is clear that these chambers formed part of the old block of houses rebuilt in 1628, of which the eastern half was pulled down and rebuilt in 1737. It is also clear that Taylor shared

chambers here with a fellow-barrister. In his ode to his "Cane-Bottomed Chair," Thackeray probably alludes to these rooms, where "Fanny" used to sit in the shabby old cane-bottomed chair.

> "In tattered old slippers that toast at the bars,
> And a ragged old jacket perfumed with cigars,
> Away from the world and its toils and its cares,
> I've a snug little kingdom up four pair of stairs."

Whether Taylor's poem was addressed to the novelist seems doubtful, since Thackeray had been married twelve years before he came to No. 10, and Tom Taylor was only called by the Inner Temple in 1846. The description, however, agrees with Thackeray's :—

> "They were fusty, they were musty, they were grimy, dull and dim,
> The paint scaled off the panelling, the stairs were all untrim ;
> The flooring creaked, the windows gaped, the doorposts stood awry,
> The wind whipt round the corner with a wild and wailing cry,
> In a dingier set of chambers no man need wish to stow
> Than those, old friend, wherein we denned at Ten Crown Office Row.
>
> "Some of those tuneful voices will never sound again,
> And some will read these lines far o'er the Indian main ;
> And smiles will come to some wan lips, tears to some sunken eyes,
> To think of all these lines recall of Temple memories ;
> And they will sigh, as we have sighed, to learn the bringing low
> Of those old chambers, dear old friend, at Ten Crown Office Row.

"Good-bye, old rooms, where we chummed without a single fight:
Far statelier sets of chambers will arise upon your site;
More airy bedrooms, wider panes, our followers will see,
And wealthier, wiser tenants the Inn may find than we,
But lighter hearts or truer, I'll defy the Bench to show
Than yours, old friend, and his who penned this Ten Crown Office Row."

In these rooms during Taylor's occupation it is on record that Tennyson took part in a Shakespearean reading, and read Florizel to the Perdita of Professor Blackburn of Glasgow. Tennyson was a frequent visitor of Henry Lushington and George Stobin Venables at No. 2 Mitre Court Buildings during the period 1842 to 1847.

Upon the same staircase with Thackeray at No. 10, and about the same time, lived John Barnard Byles, now commonly remembered as "Byles on Bills," the author of a well-known standard text-book on the law of bills of exchange. Whilst Byles was still at the Bar he was the proud possessor of a horse, or rather a pony, which, in allusion to his book, was nicknamed "Bills" by the young Templars. This animal, whose sorry appearance caused endless amusement in the Temple, used to arrive at the entrance to No. 10 every afternoon at three o'clock, and whatever his engagements Byles always contrived to go for a ride on "Bills."

At No. 9, a little later, was to be found George W. Bramwell, a member of the Inner Temple, and like Taprell, Chitty, Byles and Warren, in his earlier years one of that band of special pleaders so heartily detested by Thackeray.

For nearly thirty years Bramwell was the most

widely known occupant of the English Bench. His judgments were received in the United States of America with almost as much respect as in this country, a respect which time has only intensified. An American visitor, explaining the object of his visit, said, "I want to see Westminster Hall and Lord Bramwell."

Another occupant of Crown Office Row, at No. 5, to wit, was Montagu Williams, Q.C., the distinguished criminal advocate. An Eton boy, young Williams commenced an eventful career as a schoolmaster, and after a trial of the army went on the stage, where he met his fate in the talented Miss Keeley, daughter of the well-known Mr. and Mrs. Robert Keeley, with whom he made a runaway match.

From the stage to the Bar is a short step.

From 1863 to 1870 Williams occupied chambers at No. 6 King's Bench Walk, when he removed to Crown Office Row. Here Charles Willie Mathews, son of the comedian, shared chambers and acted as his "devil." For him Williams predicted a great future. As Sir Charles Mathews, K.C.B., he became senior counsel to the Treasury, and held the office of Director of Public Prosecutions.

Visited by an affection of the throat, Williams was obliged in 1886 to retire from the Bar. Created a Queen's Counsel by his old friend and antagonist, Lord Halsbury, he was appointed a Metropolitan magistrate, in which capacity he earned the title of "the poor man's magistrate." It was during this period that he wrote his reminiscences, *Leaves of a Life* and *Later Leaves*, books reminding us of the peculiar charms of this versatile man and full of interest to the lawyer and literary man alike. He died at Ramsgate in 1892.

Sir Henry Hawkins, afterwards Lord Bramton, had chambers at No. 1. A member of the Middle, Hawkins led for the Crown in the trial of Orton for perjury in the Tichborne case. Raised to the Bench, Hawkins became known as the "hanging judge," but this may have represented the feeling that no really guilty person ever "got off" before him, for he was by nature one of the kindest of men.

Called in 1876, J. Gorell Barnes occupied chambers at No. 4 in the new buildings. He became President of the Probate, Divorce and Admiralty Division. Raised to the peerage as Lord Gorell, he presided over the Divorce Commission, his assiduous labours thereon undoubtedly causing a comparatively premature death.

Dr. Johnson's Buildings.—From the earliest times buildings have stood on either side of the Lane leading from the Inner Temple Gateway to the church. In 1657 some timber and rough-cast structures on the W. side were replaced by more substantial brick buildings, which became known as Nos. 1 to 5 Inner Temple Lane. Upon the Library stairs is to be seen a tablet commemorating their foundation. It is dated 1657, and bears a shield with the arms of the Inn and the initials "E. P." standing for Edmund Prideaux, the Treasurer of the year.

One of the first victims of that infamous scoundrel Titus Oates was Richard Langhorne, a member of the Inner, who carried on his practice at chambers here. He was a papist, and in the excited religious frenzy of the moment the evidence of Oates and Bedloe, the rotten inconsistency of which the prisoner even then exposed, was greedily swallowed by both Court and jury.

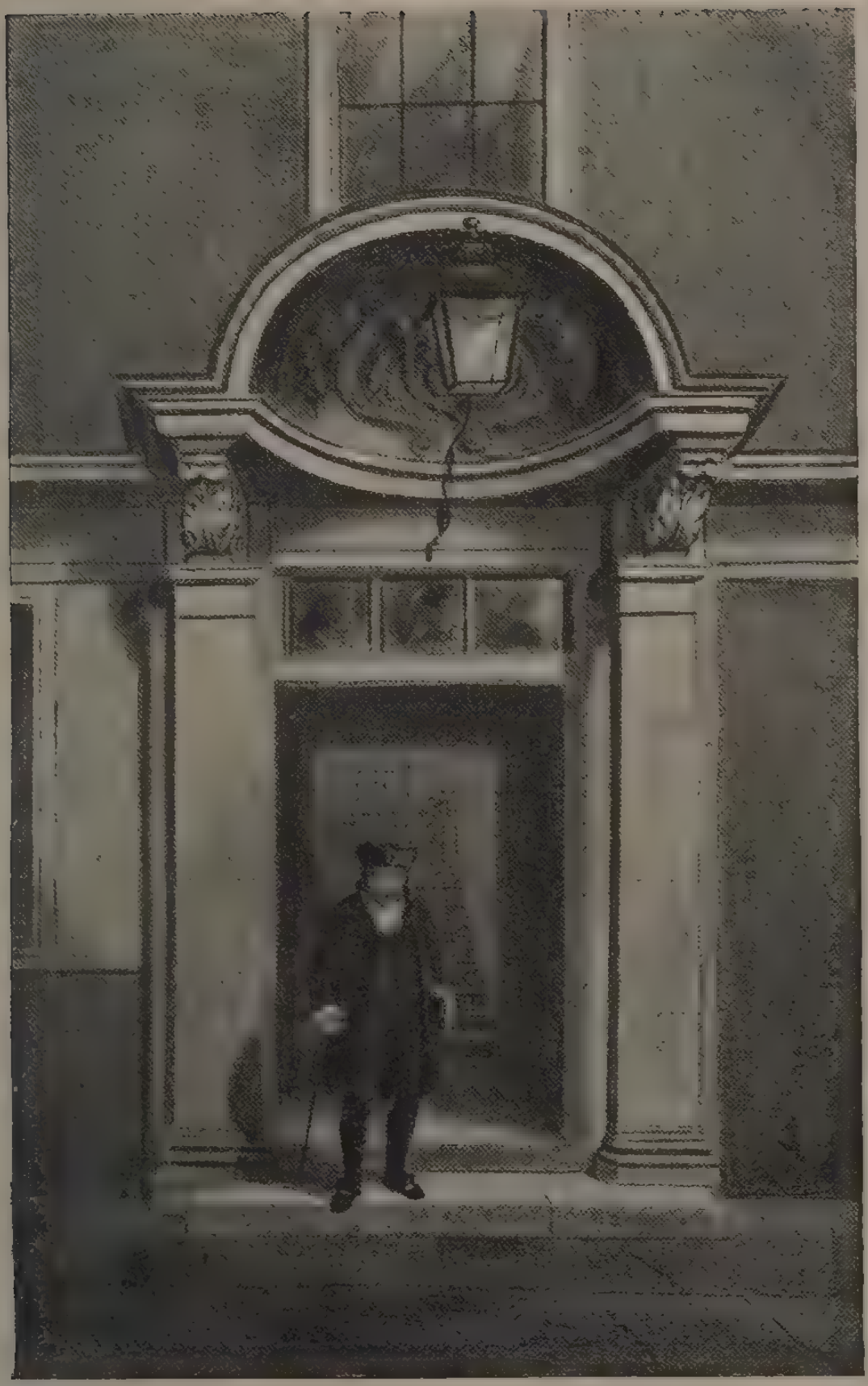
The suggestion by Langhorne that this was "a put-up job" was indignantly scouted by the Court. Such, however, when too late, it was eventually proved to be. Four days after his execution, Sir George Wakeham, who had been indicted with Langhorne, was tried before Scrogges and North, and suspicion of Oates and his fellow-witnesses having set in, was acquitted by the jury.

To two of the immortals of letters, however, the Lane owes its claim to fame. In 1760 Dr. Johnson removed from Gray's Inn to No. 1. A description of these chambers is given by Ozias Humphrey, R.A., who visited Johnson here. "The day after I wrote my last letter to you," he writes, "I was introduced to Mr. Johnson by a friend. We passed through three very dirty rooms to a little one, that looked like an old counting-house, where this great man sat at breakfast. The furniture of the room was a very large deal writing-desk, an old walnut tea-table and five ragged chairs of five different sets. I was very much struck with Mr. Johnson's appearance, and could hardly help thinking him a madman for some time, as he sat raving over his breakfast like a lunatic. He is a very large man and was dressed in a dirty brown coat and waistcoat, with breeches that were brown also (although they had been crimson), and an old black wig; his shirt collar and sleeves were unbuttoned, his stockings well down about his feet, which had on them by way of slippers an old pair of shoes. He had not been up long when we called on him, which was near one o'clock. He seldom goes to bed before two in the morning; and Mr. Reynolds tells me he generally drinks tea about an hour after he has supper. We had some time with him before he began to talk, but at

length he began, and faith, to some purpose; everything he says is as *correct as a second edition;* 'tis impossible to argue with him, he is so sententious and so knowing."

His library, Boswell tells us, was contained in two garrets over his chambers, where Lintot, son of the well-known bookseller, formerly had his warehouse. Here he used to retire when he did not wish to be disturbed. With characteristic honesty Johnson hated conventional lies, and safe in his den upstairs, his servant could truthfully say he was not "at home." "I found," says Boswell, "a number of good books, but very dusty and in great confusion. The floor was strewn with manuscripts in Johnson's own handwriting, which I beheld with a degree of veneration, supposing they might perhaps contain portions of the *Rambler* or of *Rasselas*. I observed an apparatus for chemical experiments, of which Johnson was all his life fond. The place seemed to be very favourable for retirement and meditation." Here Johnson is said to have lived "in poverty, total idleness and the pride of literature."

It was while Johnson lived in this house that the association which afterwards became so famous as the Literary Club was formed. Its original members were Joshua Reynolds, Johnson, Goldsmith, Burke, Dr. Nugent, Langton, Topham Beauclerk, Chamier and Hawkins. It was during this period also that the adventure described by Boswell occurred, when the accomplished but dissipated Beauclerk, returning one night from supper with Langton, roused up the worthy Doctor at three in the morning and challenged him to a ramble. "What, is it you, ye dogs!" he cried. "Then, faith, I'll have a frisk with you." And so they sallied



DR. JOHNSON'S STAIRCASE, NO. 1 INNER TEMPLE LANE

out, first to Covent Garden and then to Billingsgate, and had what Washington Irving, in allusion to this adventure, called "a madcap freak."

Other later members of the Club were G. Colman, Garrick, Sir William Jones, C. J. Fox, Gibbon, Adam Smith, R. B. Sheridan, Dunning, Lord Stowell, Joseph Warton, Charles Burney and Boswell.

In 1766 Johnson left the Temple for Johnson's Court, Fleet Street.

For nine years, upon moving from Mitre Court in 1808, Charles Lamb and his sister occupied the third and fourth floors of No. 4, with windows at the back looking into Hare Court with its pump, and the trees rustling against the window-pane. The three trees are still there, but the old pump has vanished.

"Do you know it?" Lamb wrote to Manning. "I was born near it and used to drink at that pump when I was a Rechabite of six years old. Here I hope to set up my rest and not to quit till Mr. Powell, the undertaker, gives me notice that I may have possession of my last lodging." This hope, however, was not realized, for he left the Temple once more, and this time for good, and died at Edmonton in 1834.

Mr. Justice Talfourd, the intimate friend and biographer of Lamb, has left us a graphic picture of those Wednesday evenings at No. 4, which for good talk he compares with dinners at Holland House. Here at ten o'clock of an autumn or winter evening the sedater part of the company is already assembled round a blazing fire and clean-swept hearth, whilst whist-tables suggest the business of the evening, and the stragglers from the play are beginning to drop in. "The furniture is old-fashioned and worn, the ceiling low and not wholly unstained by traces of 'the great

plant,' though now virtuously forborne; but the Hogarths in narrow black frames, abounding in infinite thought, humour and pathos enrich the walls; and all things wear an air of comfort and English welcome." Presently Lamb himself, as yet unrelaxed by the glass, may be seen sitting with a sort of Quaker primness at the whist-table, the gentleness of his melancholy smile half lost in his intention on the game, with Godwin, the author of *Political Justice*, as his partner. Their opponents are Admiral Burney, a pupil of Eugene Aram, and stout-hearted voyager with Captain Cook in his voyage round the world, and H. C. Rickman, the sturdiest of jovial companions, severe in the discipline of whist as at the table of the House of Commons, where he was the principal clerk.

At another table just outside the fireside circle, John Lamb, the burly, jovial brother, confronts the stately but courteous Alsager, while Proctor, his few hairs bristling at gentle objurgation, watches his partner Martin Burney dealing, with "soul more white" than the hands of which Charles once said, "Martin, if dirt were trumps, what hands you would hold!"

In one corner you may listen to Charles Lloyd debating the theory of "free will" with Leigh Hunt, or to Basil Montague, who is pouring into the outstretched ear of George Dyer some tale of legalized injustice. The room fills up: in slouches William Hazlitt from the theatre, where his stubborn anger for Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo has been softened by Miss Stephen's angelic notes; whilst Kenney with tremulous pleasure announces a crowded house at the ninth presentation of his new comedy, of which Lamb lays down his cards to inquire, or Ayrton, mildly

radiant, whispers the continual triumph of *Don Giovanni*. Later Lister looks in, or Miss Kelly, the rage of the town, or Charles Kemble fresh from the stage.

"Meanwhile Becky lays the cloth on the side-table, under the direction of that most quiet, sensible and kind of women—who soon compels the younger and more hungry of the guests to partake largely of the cold roast lamb or boiled beef, the heaps of smoking roasted potatoes and the vast jug of porter, often replenished from the foaming pots, which the best tap of Fleet Street supplies. . . . As the hot water and its accompaniments appear and the severities of whist relax, the light of conversation thickens. . . . Lamb stammers out puns suggestive of wisdom for happy Barron Field to admire and echo ; the various driblets of talk combine into a stream, while Mary Lamb moves gently about to see that each modest stranger is served, turning now and then an anxious, loving eye on Charles, which is softened into a half-humorous expression of resignation to inevitable fate, as he mixes his second tumbler !"

And here too, though but rarely, came Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and when he talked a hush fell on that little circle. Critics, philosophers and poets were content to listen ; lawyers and city clerks grew sentimental as he lavishly outpoured the riches of a master mind.

Gone, all gone, the old familiar faces, and yet at the bidding of the learned judge that Temple attic, now but a shade itself, is thronged once more with that brilliant little crowd.

Other notable inmates of these buildings were Sir James Shaw Willes at No. 3, who became a Justice of the Common Pleas in 1858. He was the first judge to

live out of town, and consequently his court could not be formed until 10.30 instead of 10 as formerly.

At No. 4, Serjeant Ballantine, that master of a type of cross-examination now happily obsolete, had chambers.

These old buildings, which had fallen into a ruinous condition, were in 1857 pulled down and replaced by the present unsightly "Dr. Johnson's Buildings," so named after their most celebrated inmate.

At No. 3, in the new buildings, Sir Edward Carson, K.C., Solicitor-General in Mr. Balfour's administration, had chambers. Great advocate as he was, he will be remembered rather as a politician, the stubborn leader of the Ulster cause. He is a Bencher of the Middle, and now a Lord of Appeal in Ordinary.

Elm Court.—This Court is first mentioned in 1620, when John Bayliff, Under-Treasurer, repaired "the dark and noisome ways, etc., from Elme Court, Pump Court and Gallery toward the church and built two new single chambers, one between Pump Court and Vine Court and two shops in the new entry at foot of steps leading to Pump Court."

The Gallery is perhaps "Le Darke Gallerie" mentioned in the same record as being in the entry near "le Elme Court." The name indicates that this was in earlier days an open space planted with elm trees. In 1630 the ruins of the old building on the S. were ordered to be taken down and rebuilt at the charge of the Middle Temple. Two years later we read of the earth of the garden there being dug and carried away in preparation for the new building, which was eventually completed. About the same time chambers abutting on the Lane were also rebuilt. In the Fire of 1679 the chambers on the S. escaped, though "much

damnified by blowing up the Store House." Two years later some £30 was spent in supporting and repairing these chambers. The rebuilding of those burned down on the W. was entrusted to Dr. Barbon, and No. 1, which forms part of the S. block of Pump Court, is still standing.

In 1701 "the apple-woman in the passage in Elm Court" and her husband were ordered to be removed out of the Temple. They, no doubt, occupied one of the two shops referred to in the record of 1620.

By the year 1879 all these buildings were so dilapidated as to be in danger of falling by their own weight. They were accordingly pulled down and the present chambers erected.

Francis North, Lord Guilford, was admitted to the Middle in 1655, and occupied the moiety of a *petit* chamber purchased by his father, Lord North. His uncle, Chaloner Chute, Speaker of the House of Commons under Protector Richard, was then Treasurer of the Inn, and swept the admission fee into the student's hat, saying, "Let this be a beginning of your getting money here."

North commenced to practise in Elm Court. His first appearance to attract public notice was in the House of Lords on a writ of error by the Five Members who had been convicted of a breach of the peace in holding down Speaker Finch on that memorable occasion when Sir John Eliot moved his resolution. Upon his appointment as Reader, the expense of his Reader's Feast was so extravagant—costing him at least £1000—as to lead to the abolition of these entertainments. Passing through the usual grades of Solicitor- and Attorney-General, he fulfilled the duties of Chief Justice of the Common Pleas with marked

ability and discretion. His conduct, however, at the trial of Stephen Colledge, when he refused to restore the papers provided for the prisoner's defence, cannot be defended. In 1682 he received the Great Seal from Charles with the words, "Here, take it, my lord; you will find it heavy"—a prophecy which he afterwards acknowledged by saying since he had held it he had not enjoyed one easy or contented minute. In spite of Jeffreys' assiduous endeavours to supplant him North enjoyed the confidence of both Charles and James. Fortunately perhaps for him he died before the latter had been a year on the throne, and before he had commenced his more extreme unconstitutional measures.

Without any special genius or talent, North may be favourably contrasted with the bulk of his contemporaries. If he never rose above the prejudices and feelings of the age he did not, like so many of his contemporaries, sink without shame into those corrupt practices with which the higher ranks of Society were infected. Of him Evelyn, the diarist, had the highest opinion. Upon his marriage he took "the great brick house near Serjeants' Inn, Chancery Lane," the corner house, where he succeeded the Earl of Clarendon. Having obtained leave for a door to be made in Serjeant's Inn Garden, "he passed daily with ease to his chambers dedicated to business and study." At this time he had given up the chambers in Elm Court.

These chambers were shared with his younger brother Roger, who is remembered rather as a biographer and historian than as a lawyer. He was, however, no mean lawyer, and, as he tells us himself, his income at the Bar was over £4000 a year. His

Lives of the Norths is a classic, not only as an authority upon the period, but for its intrinsic charm. Another Chancellor, John Somers, who gained his first step at the trial of the Seven Bishops, had chambers here. To this great lawyer it is said the Declaration of Rights, the charter of English liberty, owes much of its value.

Thomas Noon Talfourd, the friend and biographer of Lamb, had chambers at No. 2, although when he made Lamb's acquaintance he was living in Inner Temple Lane. A member of the Middle, Serjeant Talfourd was not only distinguished as a powerful advocate, but as a successful politician, dramatist and author. In the House he materially helped to carry two measures: one securing to a mother the right of access to her children so long as her character is unchallenged, and the other securing to an author for an extended period the results of his labours. He was still a Serjeant when his last play, *Glencoe*, was produced by Macready in 1840. Appointed to the Court of Common Pleas in 1849, he died on the Bench of apoplexy at the Stafford Assizes in 1854.

Essex Court.—The earliest record of Essex Court occurs in the diary of John Evelyn, who, with his brother, was admitted a member of the Middle about the year 1640. "I repaired," he writes, "with my brother to the Tearme to go into the new lodging (that was formerly in Essex Court), being a very handsome apartment just over against the Hall Court but four payre of stayers high w'ch gave us the advantage of the fairer prospect." This building was replaced in 1656 by "a very large, high spacious brick building." In 1641 a passage was made through the Palsgrave's Head, the site of Lloyds' Bank in Fleet

Street, and in 1655 leave was granted to Mr. Agar "to build the plot of ground in Essex Court next the tavern." Agar's son Thomas married the only sister of John Milton, the poet, and widow of Edward Phillips, Secondary of the Crown Office, to which office Thomas succeeded. In 1677 the W. side of the Court was rebuilt, as may be seen from the inscriptions over the

WIGMAKER'S SHOP IN ESSEX COURT

archway, being joined up with Agar's buildings. In 1684 a building at the S.W. corner was rebuilt "where an old banquetting hall stood lately." Of the latter nothing is known. The buildings on the N. were pulled down and rebuilt in 1883, when a new passage through what is now called the Outer Temple was constructed. Just near the entrance stands a little shop where Allin the wigmaker carries on his business,

one of the two survivors in the Temple of the barbers' shops.

On 15 January, 1641, Evelyn was present at the trial of Strafford in Westminster Hall, and on 12 May "beheld on Tower Hill the fatal stroke which severed the wisest head in England." In July he went to Leagure, in Holland, where he joined the army as a volunteer in Colonel Goring's regiment. The following Christmas he was one of the comptrollers of the Middle Temple Revels. In 1642 we hear of him again in the Temple, "studying a little, but dancing and fooling more."

On the morning of 17 October, 1660—the day of the execution of the Regicides at Charing Cross—Evelyn relates how on his way to the Temple he was disgusted to "meet their quarters mangled and cut and reeking as they were brought from the gallows in baskets on the hurdle."

Although present at the Christmas Revels as late as 1668, Evelyn was losing his taste for such pastimes, which he describes as "an old but riotous custom which had no relation to virtue or polity."

Called in 1848, James Hannen occupied chambers at No. 2. Raised to the Bench in 1868, he succeeded Lord Penzance as Judge of the old Court of Probate and Divorce. He will be best remembered as President of the Parnell Commission. Here also Sir Edward Clarke, K.C., Solicitor-General, one of the leading advocates of his day, carried on his practice.

Sir John Jervis and Sir William Bovill both had chambers at No. 3. Each became Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and the latter will be best remembered as the judge who tried the first Tichborne trial when he directed the prosecution of the plaintiff for perjury.

With chambers at No. 5, Serjeant Pulling will go down to posterity rather as the author of *The Order of the Coif* than as a lawyer. Over these chambers the sundial originally placed here in 1685 bears the motto, *Vestigia nulla retrorsum.*

Farrar's Buildings.—On or about the site of Farrar's Buildings stood, in 1338, the Bishop of Ely's chamber. For many years the Bishops of Ely had been Chancellors of the Exchequer, and here the Exchequer Office stood until its removal to King's Bench Walk. In the old building which preceded the present one, and which is seen on the left in the accompanying illustration, were the chambers of James Boswell, the incomparable biographer of Johnson. It was in 1763 that Boswell followed the lexicographer to the Temple, "in order to be nearer the object of his devotion," whose acquaintance he had recently made. Boswell was a member of the Scotch Bar, to which he was admitted advocate 26 July, 1766. His practice, however, in the North never amounted to very much. In 1775 he tells us that he made £124 in his last session. He was in the habit of frequently consulting Johnson upon his cases. In this year he began to keep his terms at the Inner Temple, and in Hilary Term, 1786, was called to the English Bar. Through the influence of his patron, Lord Lonsdale, he was appointed, in 1788, Recorder of Carlisle. At first he went the Northern Circuit, where he was a constant butt of its members, and had not even the consolation of business. The story goes that found one night drunk in the street, he was persuaded in the morning to move for a fictitious writ, *quare adhæsit pavimento.* Two years later he exchanged to the home circuit, cherishing the belief that some lucky chance might bring him a prize from

TEMPLE COURT

" the great wheel of the metropolis." He never got a brief and laboured at his *magnum opus*, which at last saw the light on 16 May, 1791. Its success was immediate and must have cheered the later years of his life, although he continued to complain of great depression, due, no doubt, to his intemperate habits, which grew with age. After a short illness he died in his house in Great Portland Street on 19 May, 1795.

The quadrangle formed by Farrar's Buildings, the end of the Cloisters, the houses abutting on the Church and the Church Porch was known as Temple Court.

William Fry Channell, created Baron of the Court of Exchequer in 1857, was a member of the Inner, and had chambers here. Engaged as counsel in a shipping case, Channell, so the story runs, caused some confusion by referring to a certain ship as the *Anna*, whereas his opponent called it the *Hannah*. "Which is it," asked the perplexed judge, " *Anna* or *Hannah ?* " " It was," replied the opposing counsel, " the *Hannah*, but the ' h ' has unfortunately been lost in the chops of the Channel." His chambers were afterwards occupied by his son, Mr. Justice Channell.

Fig Tree Court.—The original chambers in this Court would appear to be some of the oldest in the Temple. In 1515 we read of " the chambers next the fig tree," showing that at this date the name was not altogether mythical. In the accounts for 1610 occurs an entry of a payment to the gardener for a fig tree, which may have survived at any rate till 1654, when an item of 2s. 6d. is recorded as paid " to the joiner for mending the pales about the fig tree." In 1573 Edward Bulstrode and Thomas Gawen were admitted to the chamber of Robert Kellewaie, a Bencher, in " the Fig Tree Courte," wherein John Croke the

younger had been admitted in 1570, provided they repaired the chamber, which was in "great ruin and decay." Three years later Henry Croke was also admitted to the same chamber, and George Croke, brother of John, to "an under-chamber."

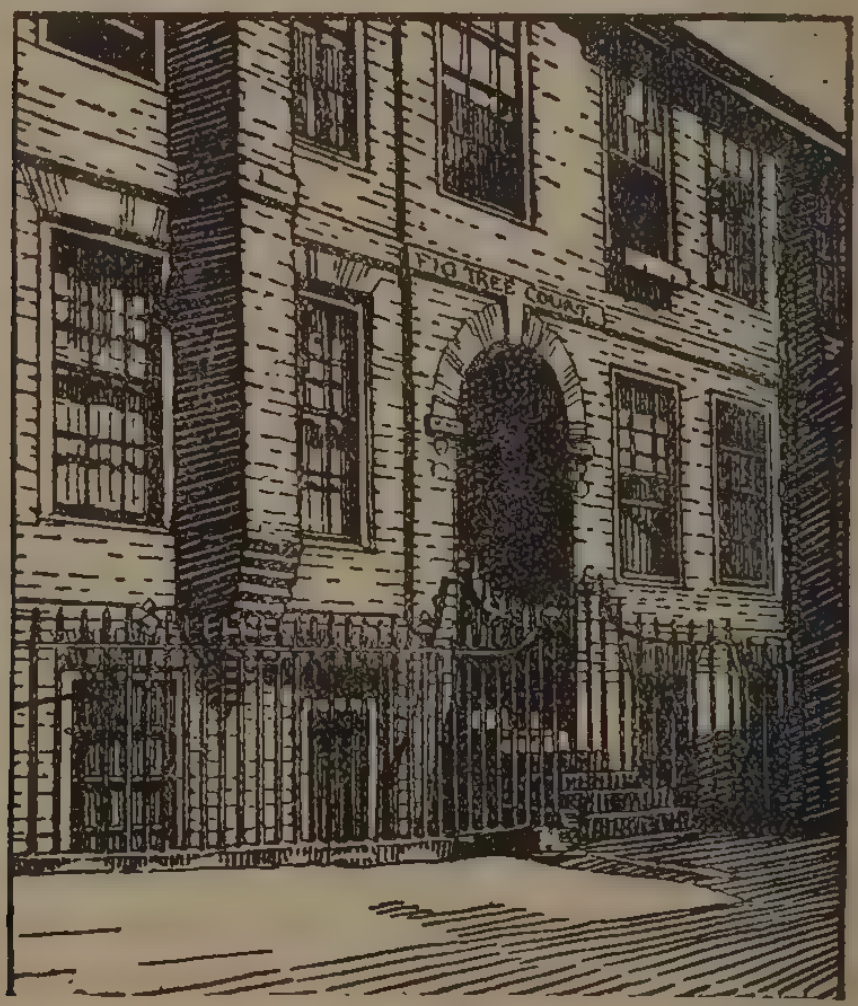


FIG TREE COURT

John Croke became successively Recorder of London, 1595; Treasurer of the Inner, 1597; Speaker of the House of Commons, 1601; Serjeant, 1603; and a Justice of the King's Bench, 1607. He it was who established the rule that the Speaker has only a casting vote. In a division on a Bill to enforce attendance

at church, the Ayes were 106, the Noes 105. The minority claimed the Speaker's vote to make the numbers equal and thus defeat the measure. Against this attempt Sir Walter Raleigh raised his voice, and Sir John upon consideration acquiesced in Raleigh's view, that the Speaker has only a casting vote. The precedent thus established still prevails, and the Speaker has no right, except in committees of the whole House, to enter the voting lobby.

George Croke, Serjeant, 1623; Justice of the Common Pleas the same year and Justice of the King's Bench 1626, is perhaps better known to lawyers as author of some *Reports*. He figured, however, no less largely than his brother in the public view. He sat as one of the Commissioners at the trial of the Countess of Somerset for the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, and was one of the twelve judges who, in 1637, delivered judgment in the Exchequer Chamber in favour of Hampden, in the case of the ship-money tax, boldly denying the claims of the King.

Sir George is said by Whitelocke to have first favoured the King's cause and to have prepared his judgment accordingly, but to have been dissuaded by his wife, who said she "hoped he would do nothing against conscience, and that she would suffer any want or misery with him rather than that." It is related to Croke's credit that he refused to give the customary bribe of £600 upon his creation as Serjeant.

In 1622 Radcliffe's and Dyott's chambers were ordered to be rebuilt by the Treasurer, Sir Thomas Coventry, at the expense of the society, and new tenants were admitted upon payment of fines. Further alterations were commenced in 1628 by the removal of various old chambers and the erection of a new

building next to the Hall, which necessitated the reconstruction of the Hall stairs and the offices of the House, and by the rebuilding of the western end of the Court. Evidence was given in the Chancery suit between the two societies in 1636 that the Court was separated from the Middle Temple by a stone wall on the W. side, and in 1584 licence had been given to Mr. Coomes of the Middle to build a study "within the stone wall in Fig Tree Court," for which he was to pay 10s. down or 6d. a year rent. At this period there was a door into Elm Court, which was supposed to be kept locked, though presumably only at night. In 1610 a new lock and key were ordered, and again in 1638 another new lock was provided.

Another occupant was Sir Thomas Wroth, M.P. for Bridgwater, one of the judges for the trial of Charles I., but who withdrew from the actual proceedings.

Against the assessment of £100 a week upon the two societies of the Temple made by the Commissioners in 1653, Sir Thomas made a long speech in the House, declaring "the long robe men" to be as good swordsmen as they were bookmen, a declaration which appealed successfully to Cromwell's military following.

In Fig Tree Court, too, lived Edward Thurlow, the famous Chancellor. He and William Cowper, the poet, were pupils together of Mr. Chapman, an eminent solicitor in Lincoln's Inn. They were both called by the Inner in 1734.

It was in the trial of Horne Tooke for libel that Thurlow, then Attorney-General, prosecuted for the Crown and used his utmost powers in exaggeration of the offence, urging that the prisoner deserved nothing less than the pillory. After much vacillation, Thurlow had thrown in his lot with the Tories, and in the House

he attacked the rights of juries in cases of libel, the liberty of the press, defended the expulsion of Wilkes and wished to treat the charters of the American Colonies as so much waste paper, thus powerfully helping to widen the breach which resulted in the War of Independence. He is perhaps best remembered for his celebrated retort in the House of Lords, for although often violent and rude, he could be dignified when it suited his purpose. Taunted with his plebeian birth by the Duke of Grafton, he replied, " I am amazed at his Grace's speech. The noble Duke cannot look before him, behind him or on either side of him, without seeing some noble peer who owes his seat in this House to his successful exertions in the profession to which I belong. Does he not feel that it is as honourable to owe it to these as to being the accident of an accident ? "

Strong language was indeed characteristic of the Chancellor. A clergyman desirous of a living then vacant went to the Bishop of London for an introduction to Thurlow. The Bishop said, " I should be willing to give it, but an introduction from me would defeat the very end you have in view." However, the clergyman persisting in his request, the introduction was given. The Chancellor received him with fury. " So that damned scoundrel, the Bishop of London, has given you an introduction ; as it is he who has introduced you, you will certainly not get the living." " Well, so the Bishop said, my lord," replied the clergyman. " Did the Bishop say so? " thundered the Chancellor. " Then he's a damned liar, and I'll prove him so : you *shall* have the living." And the man got it.

Few would suspect this rugged lawyer of writing poetry. Who would expect an owl to sing like a

thrush? And yet in his *Song to May* we find this great judge, who was said to look wiser than any man ever was, writing some light and graceful lines.

He died in 1806 and was buried with great pomp in the S. aisle of the church. His portrait hangs in the Parliament Chamber.

LITTLE GATE OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE

Fountain Court.—Perhaps the most effective entrance into the Middle Temple is through the little wrought-iron gate out of Devereux Court in Essex Street into New Court, where, turning to the right, we have at our feet Fountain Court, with its fountain immortalized by Charles Dickens in *Martin Chuzzlewit*,

where John Westlock met Ruth Pinch: "Brilliantly the Temple Fountain sparkled in the sun, and laughingly its liquid music played, and merrily the idle drops of water danced and danced, and, peeping out in sport among the trees, plunged lightly down to hide themselves, as little Ruth and her companion came towards it." And as we stand with our minds full of such recollections, we are recalled to the stern realities of life by the sight of the tired faces of men and women seated on the benches beneath the trees, who come to this little oasis of old-world peace, to escape, but for a brief moment, the noise and turmoil of the vast city outside its walls.

Upon this scene Godfrey Turner has written in his "Temple Fountain," published in W. G. Thornbury's *Two Centuries of Song*—

"And—when others fled from town to lake and moor and mountain—
I have laid my trouble beside the Temple Fountain.

. . . . . .

Pledge me straight the Benchers all, and pledge them in a brimmer,
May their lives be gladdened by the Fountain's pleasant shimmer,
May their shadows not be less while hereabouts they linger,
Holding friendly button with communicative finger;
May the Fountain ages hence keep babbling still their praises;
Babbling, too, of pastures green, lambs, lovers' walks, and daisies."

And beyond, the terrace with its ancient Hall, where Queen Elizabeth danced and Shakespeare played; the green garden slope, decked here and there with gay flower-beds; the stately library, the home of learning; and further still the Embankment and the river, once the highway between Westminster and the City.

Here is a beauty all its own ; no other place rivals its peculiar charm.

Upon this site once lay the Middle Temple "Benchers' Garden," the remainder of the Court between the Hall and Brick Court being known as the Hall Court. The original fountain was constructed when William Whitelocke was Treasurer in 1681, at a total cost of £615 3s. 1d., this sum including the iron palisades, which once surrounded the fountain and the flight of steps into Garden Court.

Over No. 1 Essex Court facing the Hall is a sundial bearing the motto, *Discite Justiciam Moniti.*

Garden Court.—Just S. of the Benchers' Garden, which once occupied the site of Fountain Court, stretched another garden, running along the W. boundary to the river. Upon the purchase of a portion of Essex House from Dr. Barbon in 1676, chambers were erected on a portion of the new grounds abutting on the garden, which became known as Nos. 3 and 4 Garden Court.

In 1830 these old buildings were swept away and new edifices erected in their stead. The latter, in their turn, were displaced in 1883 by the present buildings, which are in pleasing harmony with their surroundings.

At No. 2, first floor left, Rufus Daniel Isaacs, called to the Bar by the Middle in 1887, carried on one of the most lucrative practices in the history of the Bar. Commencing life as a sailor before the mast he entered the Stock Exchange, and ultimately turned his attention to the law. Taking silk in 1898, he soon obtained the leadership of the Bar. Succeeding Sir Samuel Evans as Solicitor-General in 1910, upon the promotion of Sir William Robson in the same year he became Attorney-General. Upon the retirement of Lord Alverstone, Sir Rufus was appointed Lord Chief Justice, and

is now the Marquis of Reading. He became successively Ambassador to the U.S. and Viceroy of India.

Goldsmith Building.—This building has no connection with the poet beyond its proximity to his grave. It occupies the site of chambers which formed part of Churchyard Court, N. The present building, named in honour of Goldsmith, was erected in 1861. It replaced a row of timber-framed houses probably erected in 1608, in turn replacing buildings on the same site referred to in the Rent Roll of the Middle of 1567. Of the latter nothing is definitely known, but these buildings or their immediate predecessors appear to be some of the houses built by Roger Blom, formerly " nuncius " of the Temple, at the request of the Master and Brethren, and which would appear to have been occupied by the lawyers who first entered the Temple.

In the new building John Bigham, K.C., when the leading " silk " in commercial cases, had chambers. For some years a judge of the King's Bench Division, he became President of the Probate, Divorce and Admiralty Division, from which he retired with the title of Lord Mersey. He presided over the inquiry into the loss of the *Titanic*.

Harcourt Buildings.—Between the old Crown Office and the site of Harcourt Buildings, S. of Crown Office Row, a small building was erected in the year 1703 by John Banks, a haberdasher in the City. It had a 10-ft. frontage, and the ground floor opened out into the garden under the paved walk or terrace, whilst the first floor was on a level with the terrace. With the ground floor was connected a summer-house, and the whole reserved for the use of the society. Below this building John Banks was licensed to build three sets of chambers with a frontage of

50 ft. apiece and a depth of 27 ft., of three stories each. The front windows were "to be all sash frames and sashes glazed with crown glass." These buildings were erected during the Treasurership of Sir Simon Harcourt, and instead of being known as Banks' Buildings, were named after the silver-tongued Chancellor. In the course of their construction the gardener's house, which stood at the lower end of the site, was pulled down.

HARCOURT BUILDINGS AND CROWN OFFICE ROW

The present buildings were commenced in the Treasurership of Robert Baker in 1832 and retained the old name. They are not remarkable for the style of their architecture, which, in fact, could scarcely be more unsightly.

Sir Alexander Cockburn, called to the Bar by the Middle in 1829, had chambers at No. 3. Following Sir John Romilly as Solicitor- and Attorney-General, he presided over the Common Pleas from 1856 to 1859, when he became Chief Justice of the King's Bench.

It was said of him by Serjeant Shee that in high legal attainments Cockburn was surpassed by none of

his predecessors, and that he owed his distinction not to backstairs' influence, not to political intrigue, not to political subservience, but to his endowments, superior talents and strength of character.

As an advocate he first came into public notice for his eloquent defence of McNaghton, the mad murderer of Drummond, Peel's private secretary. In the House he made his reputation by the brilliant speech defending Palmerston's spirited demand for compensation for Don Pacifico, a British subject resident at Athens, whose house had been wrecked in an anti-Semite riot. Although an advocate rather than a lawyer, Cockburn on the Bench became a great judge. His award in the *Alabama* case entitles him to a high place as a jurist. Amongst the *causes célèbres* tried before Cockburn the second Tichborne case stands first. After summing up, a judgment which fills two volumes of 800 pages each, he administered a well-deserved rebuke to the defendant's counsel, Dr. Kenealy.

Hare Court.—A member of the Inner who has left an indelible memory within the Temple precincts is Nicholas Hare, nephew of the better-known Sir Nicholas Hare, whom we find in the occupation of Denny's chamber in the Outer Temple in 1520. The elder Hare was Reader, Bencher and one of the three Governors of the Inner until his death. In the proceedings against Wolsey in 1530 he was retained by the Cardinal. In 1540 he was elected Speaker of the House of Commons which submissively passed all the measures of the sovereign, as was then usual, including the " whip with six strings " (whereby it was a burning matter to deny transubstantiation and a hanging to express a preference for married priests), the suppression of the monasteries and the divorce of Anne. From

this Parliament Sir Nicholas was in part absent in consequence of his imprisonment in the Tower, for having advised Sir John Skelton how to evade the Statute of Uses, which was declared to be an offence against the royal prerogative cognizable in the Star Chamber.

He was one of those who opposed Mary Tudor's marriage with Philip. Having made his peace with the Court, he was appointed Master of the Rolls, and as such sat as one of the Commissioners to try Sir Nicholas Throckmorton for his alleged participation in Wyatt's abortive rising.

In his zeal for the Crown or in revenge for the prisoner's retort, "I confess I did mislike the Queen's marriage with Spain and then methought I had reason so to do, for I did learn the reasons of my mislike of you, Master Hare," Sir Nicholas used his utmost endeavours to secure Throckmorton's conviction. In spite, however, of Hare's refusal to allow one of Throckmorton's witnesses to be examined and to permit the statute of Edward VI., which required two witnesses for high treason, to be read, the prisoner was acquitted. As was not unusual in those days, the jury was promptly clapped into jail for delivering such a strange verdict! Here they lay until they purged their contempt by paying outrageous fines, ranging from threescore to two thousand pounds apiece.

Although never Lord Chancellor, Sir Nicholas was the sole Commissioner of the Great Seal during the short interregnum between the death of Bishop Gardiner and the appointment of Archbishop Heath.

He died in Chancery Lane on 31 October, 1557, and was buried in the Church, as a brass plate upon a large monument of grey marble testifies.

Specially admitted in 1547, Nicholas Hare the

younger, after holding various offices in the Inner, in which he was to play such a leading part, was, in 1567, admitted to a chamber of James Ryvett, a Bencher, upon condition of rebuilding it, together with others. The reversion of these chambers was granted to his brothers Ralph and Hugh, and here for generations we find members of the Hare family. These chambers formed the S. side of Hare Court.

In 1590, for instance, John Hare, brother of Nicholas, Chief Clerk of the Court of Wards and Liveries, petitioned the Bench for leave to pull down certain chambers in Fine Office Court and to build there a room for his office and chambers for himself. This petition was granted. At this date Fine Office Court formed part of the present Hare Court. In 1619 John Hare was paying £5 a year for his office of the Wards. The Court of Common Pleas also had offices in the Temple. One of these was in Hare Court and one in Elm Court. They were occupied by the Filazer, an official of the Court who filed the writs on which process was issued. In 1544 the "Philoser of London," i.e. the Filazer of the Common Pleas, had to pay a yearly rent to the Inner of 20s.

The W. and S. sides of Hare Court were swept away in the disastrous Fire of 1679. On 31 May, 1679, the order for rebuilding the W. side of the Court, abutting on the Lane, was confirmed. This building consisted of four staircases of three stories each. It was erected at the expense of the Treasurer, Sir Thomas Hanmer, and the several persons who were tenants before the Fire. Amongst these we find the name of "Mr. Jeffries."

George Jeffreys, grandson of a Welsh judge, was admitted to the Inner in 1663, and for five years lived the usual racketing life of a student in those days in

an obscure chamber in the attics which I am unable to identify. There is probably no man, however vile, without some good qualities, and Jeffreys proves no exception to this rule. Admittedly he possessed many good points, but it is difficult, after making all possible allowances for the brutal viciousness of the age, to follow his latest panegyrist, Mr. H. B. Irving. It is impossible to forget the brutality of his conduct on the Bench, his cruelty and his hypocrisy. To plead that he is no worse than others of his day is a poor defence. Compared with men like Sir Matthew Hale he was a full-blooded scoundrel. That he was one of the foremost offenders of the ascendant party which represented all that was most vicious in the nation is surely no justification, but a further discredit. Whatever the verdict of history, his legal career was truly remarkable. Within three years of his call, at the early age of twenty-three, he was appointed Common Serjeant of the City, a post he owed to the assiduous court he paid to the City magnates, and of whose support he continued to avail himself until his promotion to the Recordship in 1678. At thirty-five, Jeffreys became Chief Justice of the King's Bench and two years later Lord Chancellor—the reward for his disgusting and ignoble services on the "Bloody Assizes." It was on this occasion that Jeffreys forced the jury to convict Alice, the widow of John L'Isle, the regicide, for harbouring John Hicks, a dissenting preacher, after they had twice brought in a verdict of "not guilty."

Shortly after his elevation to the Woolsack, Jeffreys received a marked distinction from the Inner Temple Benchers. Sir Godfrey Kneller was commissioned to paint his portrait for the fee of £50. This picture was hung in the Hall, but apparently after the Chan-

cellor's disgrace removed to the chambers of a Mr. Holloway, when, in 1693, at the request of Jeffreys' son, also a member of the Inner and occupying his father's chambers in Hare Court, it was handed over to him. It eventually passed into the possession of Mr. Philip Yorke, of Errig Park, Wrexham. Three other portraits of Jeffreys are extant, and in all he is represented as an extremely handsome man. We look in vain for the repulsive and terrifying countenance and features distorted by drunken debauchery portrayed by a succession of historians and novelists.

A portrait attributed to Sir Peter Lely, presented by Sir Harry Bodkin Poland, K.C., when Treasurer, represents Jeffreys at a later period when his good looks were beginning to fade. Sir Harry Poland himself is inclined to doubt the authenticity of this painting.

Jeffreys died in the Tower, and by a strange irony of fate his remains were at first laid next those of his victim, Monmouth.

Jeffreys' chambers in Hare Court were at No. 3, on the second floor, which were only pulled down quite recently and rebuilt; they correspond with the present No. 2.

The pump referred to by Lamb, the windows of whose chambers at No. 4 Inner Temple Lane looked into Hare Court, stood on the N. side of the Court, and is the one mentioned by Daines Barrington as unlike most of the others, since it never failed in summer, and was consequently the most frequented by the inhabitants of the Temple.

Its unfailing supply probably prompted the comparison in Garth's lines :—

> "Sooner shall glow-worms vie with Titan's beams,
> Or Hare Court pump with Aganippe's streams,"

lines supposed by Barrington to contain a sly hit at the lawyers for conceiving that the Temple could produce poets, as suggested by Thornhill's painting of Pegasus, in the Hall, creating the fountain of Hippocrene by striking his hoof upon the rock, emblematic of lawyers developing into poets.

At No. 1, in 1831, Thackeray commenced his legal studies by reading with Mr. William Taprell, a special pleader. He afterwards occupied chambers at No. 10 Crown Office Row (see p. 73).

In the N.W. corner, with its back windows looking into Hare Court, stood within living memory "Dick's Coffee House," one of the oldest establishments of its kind in town. It was a great haunt of the young Templars, and in George I.'s time was kept by a Mrs. Yarrow and two fair daughters, who were perhaps as great an attraction as the fragrant berry. Anyway, upon the production of *The Coffee House*, an adaptation from Rousseau in which some innuendoes touching Mrs. Yarrow and her daughters were introduced, the young Templars proved their constancy by going in a body to the theatre and hissing the play off the boards. The site has recently been purchased by the Middle Temple.

Inner Temple Gateway.—No. 17 Fleet Street, or the Inner Temple Gate House as it is sometimes called, was rebuilt by leave of the Society of the Inner Temple by one Bennett, in 1610. In consideration of his expenditure, Bennett was allowed to rebuild his house, then known as the "Prince's Arms," and to extend it "over and beside the gateway and the lane." That there was a gateway here previously is clear from the licence to Bennett, set forth in the Inner Temple Records, 10 June, 1610, whereby

in consideration of making new gates Bennett was "allowed the old gates." In the plan published by Aggas, 1563, an entrance is shown, without any gates.

Bennett was a King's Serjeant-at-Arms, and had, so far as is known, no connection with the law. His will was proved on 10 August, 1631, but contains no mention of No. 17 Fleet Street, which may be explained by the fact that he had in the meantime parted with the property.

In this house John Bennett perhaps kept his prisoners in confinement. The house was once popularly known, from the inscription on the front, as the palace of Henry VIII. and Cardinal Wolsey. The suggestion that the present building was occupied by either Henry or the Cardinal is thus entirely without foundation. Cardinal Wolsey's palace or town house was, we know, in Chancery Lane, but it is quite possible, and indeed probable, that the original house was occupied by royalty. The name of the "Prince's Arms," by which it was known prior to the rebuilding by Bennett, is some evidence, and the occupation by the Prince of Wales of the large room on the first floor as his Council Chamber for the Duchy of Cornwall is very strong evidence of its close association with the Court. This chamber, formerly used as a barber's room, is 23 ft. in length by 20 ft. in breadth, extending along the whole front of the house. Its chief claim to attention, however, is its elaborately decorated plaster ceiling, said to be the finest of its kind in situ in London. The ribs are richly ornamented and the panels and spaces filled in with emblems, conventional foliage, armorial bearings and devices in high relief, whilst in the centre, enclosed by a star-shaped border, are the Prince of Wales' feathers,

with the motto, "Ich dien," on a scroll beneath, and the initials P. H., standing for Prince Henry, eldest son of James I. The whole is now elaborately coloured, but the delicacy of the original tracery has been much damaged by frequent coats of paint. That this room was the Prince's Council Chamber has been placed beyond dispute by documentary evidence. At the Record Office several State Papers have been found referring to this house between the years 1618 and 1641. One is headed "The Prince's Council Chamber in Fleet Street," and another refers to "a house in Fleet Street where the King's Commissioners for his revenue when he was Prince of Wales usually met." This is dated 1635, and also shows that Charles I., when Prince of Wales, or at any rate when Duke of Cornwall, attended here.

The walls of the chamber are panelled from floor to ceiling, and that portion of the panelling which is surmounted by a frieze is undoubtedly early Jacobean. The upper floors are reached by a wide staircase protected by a heavy oak balustrade, which appears to be of a later period, although certainly not later than the reign of George I. This staircase is still in situ.

The design of the house is generally attributed to Inigo Jones. As he was in 1610 Surveyor-General to Prince Henry, and as the Prince's arms and initials appear on the ceiling of the new Council Chamber, which, I take it, only succeeded an older one, it is more than probable that Jones was the architect in spite of the fact that the house was built for John Bennett. With the Civil War its use by the Crown probably ceased entirely, and we next hear of it in 1693 as the Fountain Tavern, carried on by one Edward Dixon, who had serious disputes with the Benchers of

the Inn about his "lights" in the Lane. Dixon was obliged to capitulate, and the Inn has since maintained its rights on the question of "ancient lights."

Here in 1709 the Society of Antiquaries, or rather the original founders, used to meet until the removal of their quarters to the "Mitre," near Serjeants' Inn, about the year 1739. The house appears to have continued as a tavern until 1795, when Mrs. Clarke, widow of a surgeon in Chancery Lane, removed here with her waxwork figures from No. 189. This collection of figures had been purchased by Mr. Clarke from Mrs. Salmon, the original proprietor, in 1760, and are thus described in a handbill: "140 figures as big as life, all made by Mrs. Salmon, who sells all sorts of moulds and glass eyes and teaches the full art." Mrs. Salmon died at the great age of ninety, her exhibition, the forerunner of Madame Tussaud's, being on view in the reign of Queen Anne at "The Golden Salmon" in St Martin's, near Aldersgate.

During this period, from entries in the Inner Temple Records, the tenancy of the house seems to have been divided, and the business of the tavern to have been carried on simultaneously. By 1842 Tom Skelton, the hairdresser, had become the occupier, and six years later this business was carried on by the firm of Honey and Skelton.

After all these vicissitudes of fortune, No. 17 was purchased by the London County Council from Mr. Sotheby, the freeholder, for £20,000, and restored as far as possible to its original state. Much of the original carved woodwork on the front remains. The Council Chamber is now opened to the public.

Many writers of weight have identified No. 17 with Nando's Coffee House. Mr. Philip Norman has given

this theory its quietus. In his paper entitled "No. 17 Fleet Street," he quotes the following passage from Hughson's *History of London* (1807), which appears to settle the question.

"We are told," he says, "that James Farr, a barber, who kept the coffee-house, now the 'Rainbow,' or Nando's Coffee House, by the Inner Temple Gate, one of the first in England, was in the year 1667 presented by the inquest of St Dunstan's in the West, for making and selling a sort of liquor called coffee, as a great nuisance and prejudice to the neighbourhood."

Although the entrance to the "Rainbow" is at No. 15, its windows look out into the Lane. It was at Nando's that Thurlow, the future Chancellor, got his first brief in the famous Douglas case, through conversation with the solicitor who had the conduct of it. The "Rainbow" is still a well-known legal resort.

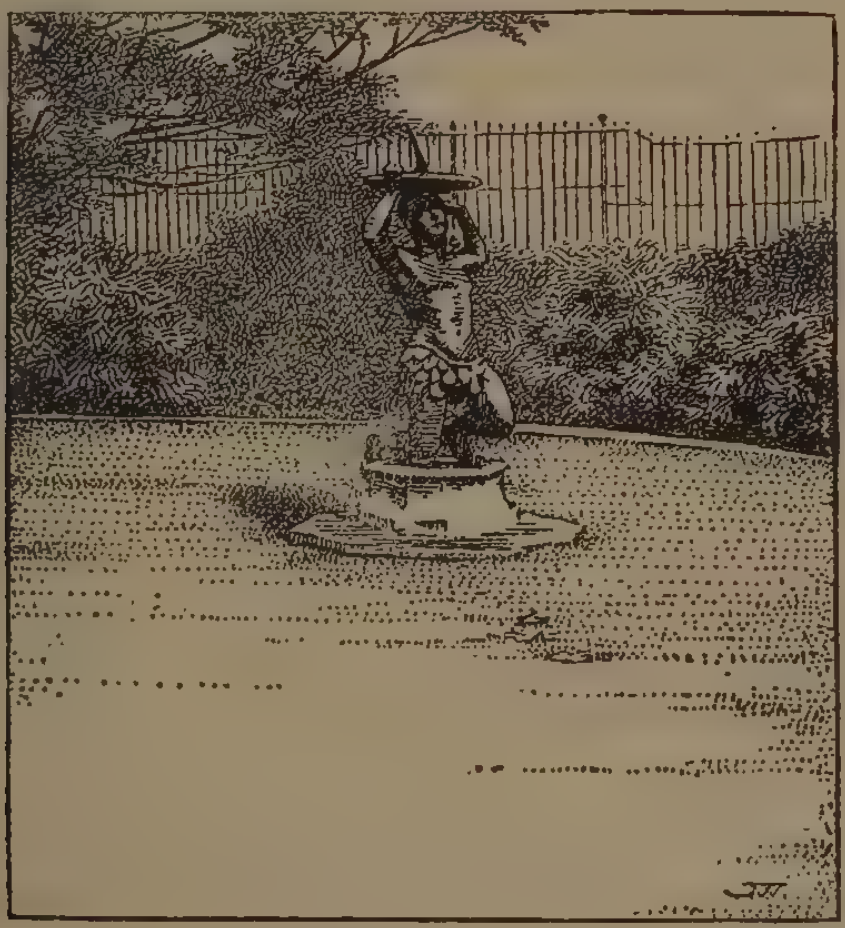
No. 16, W. of the gateway, with the sign of the "Pope's Head," was the shop of Bernard Lintot, the publisher of Pope's *Homer*, and the rival of Tonson, the great publisher of Queen Anne's reign, and afterwards of Jacob Robinson, bookseller and publisher, with whom lodged Edmund Burke, the future statesman, when eating his dinners as a student of the Middle Temple. Burke commenced to keep regular terms in 1750. Upon its site has arisen another coffee-house, where young Templars delight to congregate to play chess or dominoes over the fragrant cup.

Inner Temple Gardens.—The gardens are very different to-day from what they were when the respective champions of the Houses of York and Lancaster plucked the red and the white roses in angry defiance.

In 1528 the new river wall was built under the

auspices of Treasurer Packington, before which date there was nothing to protect the gardens and buildings from an extra high tide.

This wall started from the Friars' Wall, at about the site of the present No. 10 or 11 King's Bench



THE BLACK BOY

Walk, and ran due W. to the southernmost end of the present Paper Buildings, in digging the foundations for which the remains of the old wall were discovered.

Continuing slightly S., it struck the Temple stairs, consisting of arches forming a causeway, with steps leading down to the water. This bridge or pier existed as early as 1311.

From the stairs the wall turned slightly northwards, ending on a line with the old Essex House Stairs, near the foot of the present water-gate, at the bottom of Essex Street. Outside the wall along the bank ran a pathway from Bridewell to the Savoy.

Since the construction of this wall, by successive embankments, and finally by the Thames Embankment, both the gardens have been more than doubled in extent. The Inner Temple Garden, known as the Great Garden, which lay between the Hall and the river wall and Whitefriars and Middle Temple Lane, has changed least. From the earliest times it seems to have been well planted with trees and carefully cultivated, with lawns and walks and borders filled with rose bushes and flowering shrubs.

Approximately on the site of No. 10 King's Bench Walk, against the old river wall, stood the gardener's house and garden. In 1545 the gardener was ejected for having sickness and the plague in his house, keeping ill rule and cutting down the trees; and in 1580, apparently upon the principle that the poacher makes the best gamekeeper, the gardener's ancient rent of £4 a year was to be remitted provided he kept the House free from all "rogues and beggars, which be found very dangerous both in respect of health as for robbing of chambers."

With the erection of buildings upon the site of Paper Buildings the Great Garden was cut in two, and the smaller portion became parcel of the Great Walk or Benchers' Walk, now known as King's Bench Walk.

In the year 1430, according to tradition, took place the celebrated scene immortalized by Shakespeare, which is said to have been the origin of the Wars of the Roses. In the Inner Temple Hall met Richard Duke

of York, and the Earls of Somerset, Suffolk and Warwick. The dispute arose out of "the putting of a case," as the custom then was, for Shakespeare makes Richard say :—

> "Great lords and gentlemen, what means this silence?
> Dare no man answer in a case of truth?"

This silence was soon broken, and high words passed, when on Suffolk's suggestion they adjourned into the garden.

> "*Suffolk:* Within the Temple Hall we were too loud;
> The garden here is more convenient.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> *Plantagenet:* Let him that is a true-born gentleman,
> And stands upon the honour of his birth,
> If he supposes that I have pleaded truth,
> From off this briar pluck a white rose with me.
> *Somerset:* Let him that is no coward nor no flatterer,
> But dare maintain the party of the truth,
> Pluck a red rose from off this thorn with me.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> *Plantagenet:* Hath not thy rose a canker, Somerset?
> *Somerset:* Hath not thy rose a thorn, Plantagenet?
>
> . . . . . .
>
> *Warwick:* This brawl to-day,
> Grown to this faction in the Temple garden,
> Shall send, between the red rose and the white,
> A thousand souls to death and deadly night."

The Temple Gardens were for centuries famous for their red and white roses, the Old Provence, the Cabbage and the Maiden's Blush.

According to the poet Richard was an inmate of the Temple, for when Mortimer, dying in the Tower, asks for him, he is told by the keeper that—

> "Richard Plantagenet, my lord, will come;
> We sent unto the Temple to his chamber."

In the reign of James I. new seats were provided for the Great Garden, a new pump erected, and a pond, which has long since disappeared, was excavated and enclosed by a railing at a total cost of £28 10s. Periodical payments for "wire to nail up the rose trees in the garden" occur in the accounts, in which also figure 15s. for a sundial for the garden purchased in 1619; 6s. 6d. for ten young elm trees for the garden walks, and £1 9s. 6d. for the purchase in 1621 of a new stone roller in an iron frame. In 1606 we find the gardener again in trouble, for an inquiry is directed "as to the under-cook's horse, supposed to be killed by the gardener in the yard next the garden."

In 1693 the *greenhouse* was ordered to be re-roofed with lead and wainscoted. This was evidently used as a place of recreation, for in 1710 a table and sconces were provided.

During the Commonwealth considerable sums were expended upon the garden. The principal item in the garden accounts of £429 14s. 5d. was for laying new turf, which was brought from Greenwich Park in lighters in the spring of 1651.

From the time of the Commonwealth the garden appears to have been much neglected, but in the year 1670 the large sum of £203 10s. was expended in new gravelling the walks.

In the accounts for 1700 we find payments for thirty elms, two standard laurels, four "perimic," six junipers, four hollies and two perimic box trees. "Perimic" here, no doubt, stands for "perimetric," that is, the box trees were cut in the prevailing symmetrical fashion.

In 1703 fifteen yew trees were ordered for the garden, two hundred "junquiles," two hundred tulips, one hundred yellow Dutch crocus, fifty armathagalum

and four more box trees for the grass plots; £11 for box edging is spent in 1708, and in the accounts throughout this period are payments for cherry, nectarine, orange, peach, plum and lime trees, and for jessamine and cockle-shells for the walks.

The sundial now opposite Crown Office Row was purchased in 1707, and in 1730 the great gate, a beautiful specimen of 18th-cent. wrought-iron work, was erected. It bears, in addition to the device of the Winged Horse, the arms of Gray's Inn, in compliment to its ancient ally, an honour returned by the latter Society, which introduced the arms of the Inner Temple in the gate to Gray's Inn Gardens.

In that part of the garden near the bottom of King's Bench Walk is to be found a kneeling black figure supporting a sundial. This was brought comparatively recently from Clement's Inn. It is said by Ireland to have been presented to the latter Society by Lord Clare, who brought it from Italy about the year 1700. According to Ireland the figure is bronze, but some ingenious persons having determined on making it a blackamoor painted it black. Mr. Loftie, on the contrary, assumes it to be lead, and says that numbers of similar leaden statues were made at a "statuary's" in Piccadilly a century and a half ago.

The following lines were one day found attached to this statue:—

"In vain, poor sable son of woe,
Thou seek'st the tender tear;
From thee in vain with pangs they flow,
For mercy dwells not here.
From cannibals thou fled'st in vain;
Lawyers less quarter give;
The first won't eat you till you're slain,
The last will do't alive."

Here and in the Middle Temple Garden in the 18th cent. the Court ladies, in hoops and patches, took the air with the young bloods about town. And here one may also picture the good knight, Sir Roger de Coverley, and Mr. Spectator, with his short face, pacing the green together, with groups of City merchants with their wives and children sauntering along the broad gravel walk by the river wall. Later still, on a certain Sunday evening, Arthur Pendennis was to be found in the summer-house, and here, of course quite by accident, he tumbled across pretty Fanny Bolton, when he ought to have been engaged in solitary meditation.

Undoubtedly it would be hard to find in this great City of ours a more ideal spot for meditation so thronged with memories than the Temple Gardens. In some graceful lines Mr. John Hutchinson, late librarian to the Middle Temple, has given expression to thoughts with which the spirit of the place affects us all alike :—

"Here as I sit, where rolls the river by,
Or where the fountain, as it falls and springs,
Brings to the vacant mind the memory
Of streams and rills and woodland murmurings,
And dreams of far-off drowsy country things.
Here as I sit or walk dim paths along,
The shadows of the past around me flit and throng."

Inner Temple Hall.—Whatever the true history of the origin and separation of the two Societies, that of the Inner undoubtedly succeeded to the ancient Hall of the Knights Templars. The date of this ancient building is only a matter of conjecture. Some place it as early as the 8th cent., but however this may be it was probably standing when the Templars moved to their new quarters. The small Gothic

OLD HALL, INNER TEMPLE

windows on the N. dated from the restoration or partial rebuilding which took place in the reign of Edward III.

In 1606 and 1629, owing to the then ruinous condition, extensive repairs and restorations were undertaken. Two centuries later its condition was still more dangerous, as we learn, in 1816, from a report of the Treasurer, Joseph Jekyll. Beyond patching up the old rubble walls with brickwork and renewing the rotten timbers, nothing of a permanent kind was done.

After this restoration the statues of three early English lawgivers were placed in canopied niches at the western end, viz. Alfred, Edward I. and Edward III., all executed by Rossi. Thus the old Hall of the Knights Templars stood until its final demolition in 1866, being utterly inadequate for the use of the constantly increasing members of the House.

This was the old Hall where the Knights Templars partook of humble fare, sitting two by two, and on feast days entertained with sumptuous hospitality kings and princes, papal legates and foreign ambassadors. Here, too, the guilty expiated their offences by offering their naked backs to be scourged with leathern thongs, and this was the scene of those alleged idolatrous rites when the Novices of the Order were compelled to spit on the cross, kiss the idol with the black figure and shining eyes and worship the golden head, which were kept secreted in the Treasury adjoining!

Here the lawyers in their turn dined, eating their meat off wooden platters and quaffing strong ale from ashen mugs, a practice continued to about 1560, when green-glazed earthenware pots and jugs

replaced the latter. Wooden cups are of very ancient date. In the inventory of the Knights Templars, "cups of maple wood with silver feet" are mentioned. Here, then, they sat at table in messes of four, almost exactly as they do to this day. Instead of a well-swept floor, they had a carpet of fresh rushes, and in place of electric light, candles and flaring torches; whilst a wood or charcoal fire radiated its heat and smoke impartially from the centre of the Hall, a certain proportion of the latter escaping through the smoke-louvre above.

Round this fire took place the ceremonies connected with the Revels, when the Master of the Revels led the guest of the evening with measured steps about the fire. One of the most splendid entertainments in the old Hall, during the reign of Victoria, was the magnificent banquet given in the month of July, 1843, to the King of Hanover, the Queen's uncle.

The S. entrance to the old Hall was on the same site as that of the present Hall, and is the one referred to by Charles Lamb in 1821, when, in his memorable essay on the *Old Benchers*, he mourns over the changes which had occurred. "They have lately Gothicized the entrance to the Inner Temple Hall and the Library front, to assimilate them, I suppose, to the body of the Hall, which they do not at all resemble." "What," he asks, "has become of the winged horse that stood over the former? a stately arms!" The "Library front" is probably the building at the E. end of the Hall pulled down in 1819 and rebuilt after the Pointed style.

Just outside the N. door of the old Hall stood the chapel of St Thomas, through which access was gained to the Cloisters, and then still under cover to the

church, to which entrance was gained either through St Anne's chapel or through a door on the S. of the Round no longer in existence. One section of these Cloisters with groined arches and corbels still remains in a chamber at the W. end of the present Hall. This chamber measures about 23 ft. by 15 ft., presenting the appearance of a small refectory, and was probably used by the priests or serving brethren of the Templars. It is described in the records of the Inn as the "Hall of the Priests." The walls are of rubble and Kentish rag, similar to those of the old Hall. The ceiling is supported by groined arches in stone, and an open fireplace of a later date stands at the northern end. Of the two stone recesses, one resembles a piscina, whilst the other was perhaps used as a cupboard. A window corresponding with that in the Buttery above is now blocked up. The floor is on the same level as the ancient floor of the church and the chapel of St Anne.

Almost immediately above this chamber is the Buttery, *Promptuarium*, with which it communicated by a flight of stone steps. Some of these have been removed and the staircase blocked to make room for a huge safe in which is kept the Inn's plate. The ceiling of the Buttery is also supported by stone-groined arches. Adjoining the Buttery on either side were other chambers, known as the "Butteries." Upon scraping off the old plaster on the outside of the N. wall in 1756, several very ancient doorways and windows were discovered. Above these chambers again appear to have been others, called the "Hall Chambers," or "the chambers over the buttery"; whilst those on the ground floor on a level with the Priests' Hall were known as "the chambers under the Hall stairs," where we find the brilliant Sir William

Webb Follett in 1825. To the W. of these buildings, as in the days of the Knights Templars, stood the brewery, where the beer for the Society was brewed, until its removal to make way for the new Hall and kitchens.

The present buildings were erected from the designs of Sir Sydney Smirke, partly on the old foundations, preserving as far as possible the old lines of construction and leaving intact the Priests' Hall and Buttery. They were opened on 14 May, 1870, by Princess Louise on behalf of Queen Victoria, as may be gathered from the inscription over the S. entrance.

On this occasion the Princess, who was accompanied by Prince Christian, was entertained at a *déjeuner* in the new Hall, where she was received by Lord Chancellor Hatherley, Bovill, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Robert Lowe, Chancellor of the Exchequer. At the inaugural banquet the following week, Edward VII., then Prince of Wales, was the guest, the company including W. E. Gladstone, then Prime Minister. Gladstone and Disraeli were both members of Lincoln's Inn, but both had withdrawn their names from the register, the former in 1839 and the latter in 1831.

The exterior of the present Hall does not prepare one for the noble proportions of this fine chamber. Mr. Loftie's assertion that Smirke contrived to make his buildings appear smaller than they really are, seems to be well founded. It is 94 ft. in length, 41 ft. in width and 40 ft. to the springing of the hammer-beams.

At the E. end, on the S., is a fine bay window, decorated with heraldic glass. On the panelling which runs round the Hall is a succession of coats of arms of Treasurers and Readers from the time of Sir John

INNER TEMPLE HALL: EAST END

Skylling, who was Reader in 1506. Thus is perpetuated the custom of the Knights Templars, who used to hang their shields upon the walls whilst at table. The two doors concealed in the panelling at the E. end lead into the Parliament Chambers—a handsome set of rooms, the walls of which are covered with portraits and engravings of legal luminaries.

The two doors now at the N. and S. entrances are probably survivals of "a great carved screen" which Dugdale mentions as being erected in the Hall in 1574. The one at the S. entrance bears the date 1575; the other is undated, and in the upper portion is not quite finished by the carver. What became of this screen is unknown. The present one is quite modern.

The four bronze statues, two on either side of the central door in the screen, were designed by H. H. Armstead, R.A., in 1875. The two inner figures represent Knights Templars; the two outer Knights Hospitallers. The Templar on the left is intended to represent William Mareschal, the powerful minister of Henry III. At page 6 are shown the two figures on the right. The figure drawing the sword is a Templar; the other a Hospitaller.

Sir James Thornhill's painting of Pegasus surrounded by Neptune and the Muses springing from Mount Helicon, occupies its old position at the E. end of the Hall. It was painted in 1709, and shows us exactly the extent of the enlargement of the present building. Beneath hangs a perfect galaxy of portraits by Sir Godfrey Kneller: William III. and his Queen Mary, George II. and Caroline. With these hang portraits of Halsbury, Lord Chancellor, and Gully, Speaker of the House of Commons. On the N. wall

may be seen portraits of Gabriel Neve, Esq., Sir Randolph Carew, Thomas Sherlock, for fifty years Master of the Temple, Sir Cresswell Levinz, by Richardson, and John Herbert, Esq. Above the minstrel gallery hang Sir Edward Coke, the famous Chief Justice, by Vansomer, presented by his daughter, Mrs. Sadler, and Sir Thomas Lyttelton. The S. wall contains Christopher Benson, Master of the Temple, Sir Simon Harcourt, Queen Anne's silver-tongued Chancellor, and Sir Matthew Hale, the famous Chief Justice, from Lincoln's Inn. Dr. Benson was the port-wine drinker whom Sydney Smith declared he liked better "in the bottle than in the wood."

Inner Temple Library and Parliament Chambers.—At the E. end of the old Hall formerly stood a little building with the E. window of the Hall looking over its roof. This was the Library, which was blown up with gunpowder in the Fire of 1679 in order to save the Hall, and which was rebuilt, together with the end of the Hall, in 1680. Towards the cost of its rebuilding and wainscoting Sir George Jeffreys, then His Majesty's Serjeant-at-Law, contributed £40.

Long before the reign of Henry VI. the Inn had a library, a possession which placed the House far in advance of the other societies. Reference to this building, which was at the western end of the Hall and called the "upper library," where members dined in Term time, when the accommodation of the Hall did not suffice, and when during Vacation they played hazard, appears in the records for 1505, for in that year "Knightly and Baker" "are assigned a chamber newly made under the library." In those days two fellows lay in one chamber.

A reference to the library at the E. end of the Hall

occurs in the records for 1530, when the Treasurer, Thomas Audley, Speaker of the House of Commons and later Lord Chancellor, was allowed to make "a door out of his chamber into the library of this House," provided it were not "to the nuisance of the members."

Immediately behind the old library and attached to the Treasurer's house on the E. stood an ancient tower built of chalk, rubble and rag-stone, surmounted by a wood cupola with a bell. In this turret were sets of chambers. After undergoing similar repairs to those of the old Hall, it was pulled down in 1866 and replaced, though much further E., by the stone clock tower which gives access to the present library.

E. of the Treasurer's house, which included the old Parliament Chambers and Offices, stood Babington's Rents, erected about the year 1530, and in the intervening space between these chambers and the library a few years later chambers were built, known as Packington's Rents. In 1518 we find John Packington "admitted to a chamber at the door of the Hall."

Sir John Packington enjoyed the favour of Henry VIII. to such an extent that by an extraordinary grant he was allowed to wear his hat in the presence of the King and in that of his successors. He was Recorder of London, a Welsh judge and Chancellor of the Exchequer. During his Treasurership the wall on the river front was built, and the ceiling of the Hall constructed; and for his "many and sundre payns" in these matters he was thanked by the Benchers in 1533.

N. of Babington's Rents and parallel with the Cloisters, thus completing the old ecclesiastical quadrangle, were Bradshaw's Rents, probably erected about

the year 1544, when Henry Bradshaw was elected Treasurer.

All these buildings or their successors—for some had suffered in the various fires—were swept away to make room for the new Library and Parliament Chambers. The ground and first floor are given up to the Parliament Chambers, Offices and Lecture Rooms, whilst the whole of the second floor is devoted to the Library.

In consequence of the bequest by William Petyt, a former Treasurer of the Inn and Keeper of the Records at the Tower, of his MSS. and books, together with the sum of £150 towards a new building, a second room was, in 1709, built or fitted up as a library, in which Petyt's MSS. remained under lock and key for many generations.

These MSS., consisting of original letters from our own sovereigns, diplomatists and other distinguished personages, together with the records of the Inn, are kept in the private room of the Treasurer, who is specially responsible for their safe custody.

Apart from a law library of some 40,000 volumes, the new Library contains a collection of historical and literary works amounting to 25,000 volumes, especially rich in county histories and books on architecture, archæology and the fine arts.

A number of 16th- and 17th-cent. books from the library of Sir Edward Coke are to be found on the shelves, together with a selection of works on jurisprudence made by John Austin. The N. wing, upon the site of No. 2 Tanfield Court, was opened in 1882.

Over the fire-place in the old library was a fine piece of wood-carving, attributed to Grinling Gibbons, bearing the inscription, "T. Thoma Walker Arm. A.D. 1705,"

which was the result of a payment of £20 5s. made by Sylvester Petyt, Principal of Barnard's Inn and brother of William, as executor of the latter's will. It has now found a resting-place in the ante-room to the Parliament Chamber, where a portrait of William Petyt also hangs.

Formerly the chief butler combined the duties of librarian with those of his humbler office. In the early days, however, the social position of the butler was much higher, and he not infrequently was called to the Bar. After the Petyt bequest, a Mr. Samuel Carter, upon finding two sureties for £1000, was appointed "library keeper" at a salary of £20 a year. The former popular librarian, Mr. J. E. L. Pickering, is a well-known expert in bibliography.

Amongst the objects of interest in the Library is a case containing a collection of Serjeants' rings, given by the following Serjeants upon their creation to the judges and others as was customary, viz. William Fry Channell, 1840; Lord Campbell, 1850; Charles Crompton, 1852; William Ballantine, 1856; John Richard Quain, 1871; and William Field, 1875. Each ring, as the fashion was, bears an appropriate motto.

Below this case is a wooden Fee Bowl used by Baron Martin when at the Bar and presented by his descendant, the Hon. Malcolm Martin Macnaghten. These bowls were used by counsel up to the middle of the 19th cent., and are survivals from the days when fees were paid in hard cash. They are mentioned by Roger North in his *Life of Lord Guilford*, who, when in practice, kept three on his table.

In this bowl now lie two coins of Corinth (*c.* 300 B.C.), with the emblem of the "Winged Horse" on the

reverse, presented by Mr. Wyatt Paine, of the Inner Temple.

Another object of great interest to legal historians is the gift of Mr. Justice Darling, a set of illuminated drawings of the Courts of the time of Henry VI.

The Benchers' committee-room contains a fairly good collection of paintings and engravings relating to the Temple. The most interesting of these are undoubtedly two paintings said to be the work of Hogarth in 1734, one of the King's Bench Walk, and the other of the Middle Temple Hall. Another painting, which is attributed to J. Maurer, was presented by the late Lawson Walton, K.C., Attorney-General. This shows King's Bench Walk, Paper Buildings, the end of Crown Office Row and the S. door of the Inner Temple Hall.

King's Bench Walk.—In the earliest known map of London, dated 1543 and made by Antonio van den Wyngaerde, houses along the site of King's Bench Walk are shown with the garden and the trees down to the waterside, and a pathway running along the river bank from Bridewell on the E. to the Savoy on the W.

The upper end of the "Walks" was formerly known as Exchequer Court, from the offices of that Court which stood on the site of No. 2.

At the bottom end close to the river wall lay the King's Bench Office, which was burnt down in the Fire of 1677, and was never rebuilt. It gave its name to the lower end of the "Walks."

The earliest erections on the E. side of the "Walks" of which we have any record are Black Buildings, erected near the Alienation Office in the same year as Fuller's Rents by Benham, Bourchier and Williams. These were pulled down in 1663 for the enlargement

of the "Walks." In 1577 licence was granted to a Mr. Harrison "to build next Friars' Wall." This was the wall dividing Whitefriars from the Temple, and these buildings are described as "standing up or near the White Friars' Wall there," and were the last buildings in the row. They probably occupied the site of No. 8 or 9 King's Bench Walk. The old garden of the Alienation Office still lies between No. 3 King's Bench Walk and Serjeants' Inn.

After the destruction of these buildings in the Great Fire, the Bench resumed possession of the garden, which became known indifferently as the "Benchers' Garden," the "Privy Garden" or the "Little Garden." It was laid out after the Dutch style with walks and grass plats and a fountain with a lion's head, and a copper scallop-shell to catch the water was erected in the centre. Orange trees in tubs were placed along the walks, and tulip beds of fantastic designs cut out in the grass plats.

In later years, as fresh buildings arose on all sides, this little pleasaunce was entirely neglected, and is now given up to sheds for the electric light plant and to a lecture-room where the students may imbibe the first principles of the law, where the Hardwicke Society holds its debates and where the Templar entitled to a vote in respect of his chambers may exercise the franchise in parliamentary and municipal elections.

To the Annual Dinner given by the Hardwicke Society—a function attended by many of the judges and leading counsel—it is customary to invite as the guest of the evening some distinguished lawyer. On 5 June, 1901, Maître Labori was the guest. The enthusiastic reception accorded was not merely a note of admiration for this brilliant and distinguished advocate,

nor was it merely an expression of good feeling on the part of the English Bar towards the Bar of France, but it signified the outspoken assertion of the paramount right of an advocate to discharge without fear or favour his duty to his client. "It had been said," declared M. Labori, "that without independence there was no Bar. It was no less true to add that without a Bar there was no independence for a nation."

In the Great Fire of 1666 the whole of the buildings in the "Walks" appear to have been destroyed. Scarcely had these, or some of them, been rebuilt when in October, 1677, a second fire broke out and the new buildings were likewise burned down. That this fire did not prove so disastrous to the Inn as the Great Fire was due in a large measure to the precautions taken by the Benchers, who had availed themselves of the latest methods, such as they were, of extinguishing fires. In the previous October a committee had sat "to consider all necessary means to prevent any accidental fire in this Society, and *to view the engine* and to report what further number of buckets will be necessary to be added to the former now hung up in the Hall."

Exactly how much suffered in the second fire is not known, but a very considerable proportion must have been destroyed. No. 4 was rebuilt in 1678, as the stone tablet over the door testifies; and No. 5, a particularly fine example of a Stuart town mansion, in 1684. Both these houses are supposed to be the work of Sir Christopher Wren. From the petitions of persons burnt out, it is clear that houses on either side of the Whitefriars Gate suffered. Hampson's Buildings, "the southernmost staircase in the King's Bench Buildings," and Robinson's Buildings adjoining were

both destroyed. In the latter, built by Sir Thomas Robinson, Chief Prothonotary of the Common Pleas and Treasurer of the Inn, a fire broke out in the Long Vacation of 1683. The fire, which originated

NO. 5 KING'S BENCH WALK

in Hall's Coffee House, having spread to his chambers, he jumped from the window and was killed. Both these buildings were erected about the year 1671.

At No. 1 was to be found, in 1819, James Scarlett,

afterwards Baron Abinger of Abinger in Surrey. In early years a Whig, Scarlett became Attorney-General in Canning's ministry of 1827. He continued to hold this office under the Duke of Wellington, but on this minister's downfall he resigned and threw in his lot with the Tories. In the debate on the second reading of the Reform Bill in 1832, he declared that if the Bill passed it would "begin by destroying the House and end in destroying the other branches of the constitution"—a gloomy prognostication happily still unfulfilled.

When at the Bar Scarlett was himself defendant in an action for slandering the plaintiff's attorney in a case tried at the Lancaster Assizes in 1817, in which he had appeared for the defendant. He certainly had attacked the unfortunate attorney in no measured terms, describing him as "a fraudulent and wicked attorney," terms, however, which appear to have been fully warranted by the facts of the case. It was held by the Court (Lord Ellenborough, C.J., presiding) that the words were spoken in a cause, were relevant and pertinent to it, and consequently the action could not be maintained. *Hodgson* v. *Scarlett* thus became the leading case upon the privilege of counsel in conducting a cause.

During his latter years at the Bar, Scarlett occupied chambers at No. 2, where more recently was to be found the late Judge William Willis, Treasurer of the Inn and author of *The Society and Fellowship of the Inner Temple*, a brochure dealing with the distinguished members of that Society. He shared chambers with Mr. Bargrave Deane, later a judge of the Probate, Divorce and Admiralty Division, and son of the late Sir James Parker Deane, the great ecclesiastic

lawyer and judge. Both father and son were Masters of the Bench together for many years.

Goldsmith was for a short time at No. 3.

A little later William Scott, Lord Stowell, the celebrated Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, took chambers on the same staircase. After obtaining, in 1779, his D.C.L., he was admitted an advocate at Doctors' Commons and called to the Bar by the Middle the following year. As a judge his reputation was world-wide, and his decisions are still unquestioned in International Law. "He was," writes Sir Walter Scott, "one of the pleasantest men I ever knew."

Baron Parke, whose creation as a life peer with the right to sit and vote under the title of Lord Wensleydale gave rise to a grave constitutional controversy, occupied chambers here. This innovation raised the ire of the Tory peers, who refused to allow such ephemeral titles. To put an end to the dispute his title was made hereditary, but he died without heirs male. The title was revived in the person of Sir Matthew White Ridley, who married his daughter.

Later inmates of No. 3 were Mr. Robert Wallace, K.C., and Lord Coleridge, a judge of the King's Bench Division, eldest son of Lord Chief Justice Coleridge.

It was at No. 5 that William Murray, the celebrated Lord Mansfield, occupied the chambers referred to by Colley Cibber, who thus parodied the well-known lines of Pope given below :—

> "Persuasion tips his tongue whene'er he talks,
> And he has chambers in the King's Bench Walks."

Coming somewhat late to the Bar, Murray delighted in mingling with the great intellects of the day. With

other well-known men, Pope was a constant visitor at No. 5, and the intimacy which sprang up between them was never broken, as some of Pope's other friendships were. Early in Murray's career the poet predicted for his pupil in the art of elocution a great career. In his *Epistle to Mr. Murray*, dated 1737, Pope asks :—

> "And what is fame? The meanest have their day;
> The greatest can but blaze and pass away.
> Graced as thou art, with all the power of words
> So known, so honoured at the House of Lords."

Murray's first great case was the defence of the Provost and Councillors of Edinburgh for their share in the Porteous Riots. The reference by Pope to the House of Lords is in allusion to Murray's successful appearance in a large number of appeals to that tribunal. The lines immediately following contain an exquisite compliment and a prophecy singularly fulfilled more than half a century afterwards :—

> "Conspicuous scene! another yet is nigh,
> (More silent far) where kings and poets lie;
> Where Murray (long enough his country's pride)
> Shall be no more than Tully or than Hyde."

In the statesmen's aisle in Westminster Abbey may be seen the statue raised to the memory of this great judge, "a character above all praise, the oracle of law, the standard of eloquence and the pattern of all virtue both in public and private life."

At No. 5 also Murray was pestered with visits from Sarah, the famous Duchess of Marlborough, who had sent him a general retaining fee of 1000 guineas, of which Murray, however, promptly returned all but five guineas.

EXCHEQUER COURT AND KING'S BENCH WALK

Joseph Jekyll, one of Lamb's *Old Benchers*, was an inmate of No. 5 from 1793 to 1810. About the same time on the same staircase lived the younger Colman. His chambers are described as "furnished with a tent bedstead, two tables, half a dozen chairs and a carpet as much too scanty for the boards as Sheridan's 'rivulet of rhyme' for its 'meadow of margin.'" Here his father left him with £10 worth of old law books, and no sooner had the elder Colman turned his back on the Temple, than the youngster set off to Gretna Green with Miss Catherine Morris, an actress from the Haymarket. Colman was a member of Lincoln's Inn.

Another notable tenant of No. 5 was Frederick Thesiger, who had commenced life as a midshipman and was present in 1807 on board the *Cambrian* at the second bombardment of Copenhagen. Becoming heir to his father's W. India estates, he left the navy and entered Gray's Inn, by which Society he was called in 1818. Amongst his early cases was an action of ejectment against his client, a lord of a manor, tried at Chelmsford, which brought him into such repute that, when raised to the peerage, he chose the title of Chelmsford in remembrance of his first great success.

Of his *causes célèbres* perhaps the most remarkable was that in which he exposed the fraudulent pretensions of the plaintiff to be the son of Sir Hugh Smith, and as such entitled to large estates in Gloucestershire and other counties. This case, no doubt, formed the basis for Samuel Warren's *Ten Thousand a Year*. He was also counsel with John Campbell and Talfourd in the celebrated *crim. con.* suit by Mr. Norton against the Prime Minister, Lord Melbourne. He followed Sir

William Webb Follett both as Solicitor- and Attorney-General, and in 1852 received the Great Seal at the hands of Lord Derby. When Lord Chancellor he was sued by Mrs. Swinfern for alleged negligence as her counsel in the case of *Swinfern* v. *Swinfern*.

Later, in 1840, was to be found Colin Blackburn, who became a Lord of Appeal in Ordinary. A man of immense legal capacity and mental power, his judgments in the House of Lords are distinguished for their learning and grasp of legal principles.

Commencing life as an attorney in his father's office, Thomas Wilde was called to the Bar by the Inner in 1817 and occupied chambers at No. 7. Within three years he was selected as one of the counsel for the defence of Queen Caroline. In the Common Pleas he soon established the lead. As a Whig he steadily supported the Liberal party and became successively Solicitor- and Attorney-General and Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. In 1846 he received the Great Seal with the title of Baron Truro of Bowes.

Other distinguished inmates of chambers in the "Walks" were Lord Justice Vaughan Williams at No. 7; Serjeant Parry, a member of the Middle Temple at No. 8, erected in 1782; Mr. Justice Manisty at No. 9, and on the same floor was Mr. Justice Jelf, who will long be remembered at the Bar as one of the most pertinacious advocates who ever pleaded in the Courts; Sir William Webb Follett and Mr. Justice Bucknill (who delighted to be known to all and sundry as "plain Tommy Bucknill") at No. 10; William Robson, Attorney-General in Mr. Asquith's first administration and afterwards a Lord of Appeal at No. 11, where also was to be found Fletcher Moulton, the famous counsel in patent cases, afterwards a Lord

Justice and a Lord of Appeal. Here also Sir Archibald Levin Smith had chambers. Like Alfred Thesiger, he brought to the Bench those qualities of endurance and resource which bring men to the front on the river

NO. 12 KING'S BENCH WALK

and the cricket field. In the Oxford and Cambridge Boat Race of 1859 young Smith rowed " No. 3 " in the Light Blue ship. The race started in a snowstorm, and the Cambridge boat eventually sank. The future Master of the Rolls was the only man in the boat

unable to swim, and he owed his life to a stranger who threw him a lifebuoy. As an exhibition of pluck there has been nothing finer in the great annual race. Hopelessly behind, Cambridge rowed grimly on, gunwale deep, and none harder than Smith, knowing that the boat must sink and that he could not swim. Called to the Bar in 1860, Smith was raised to the Bench whilst still a stuff-gownsman.

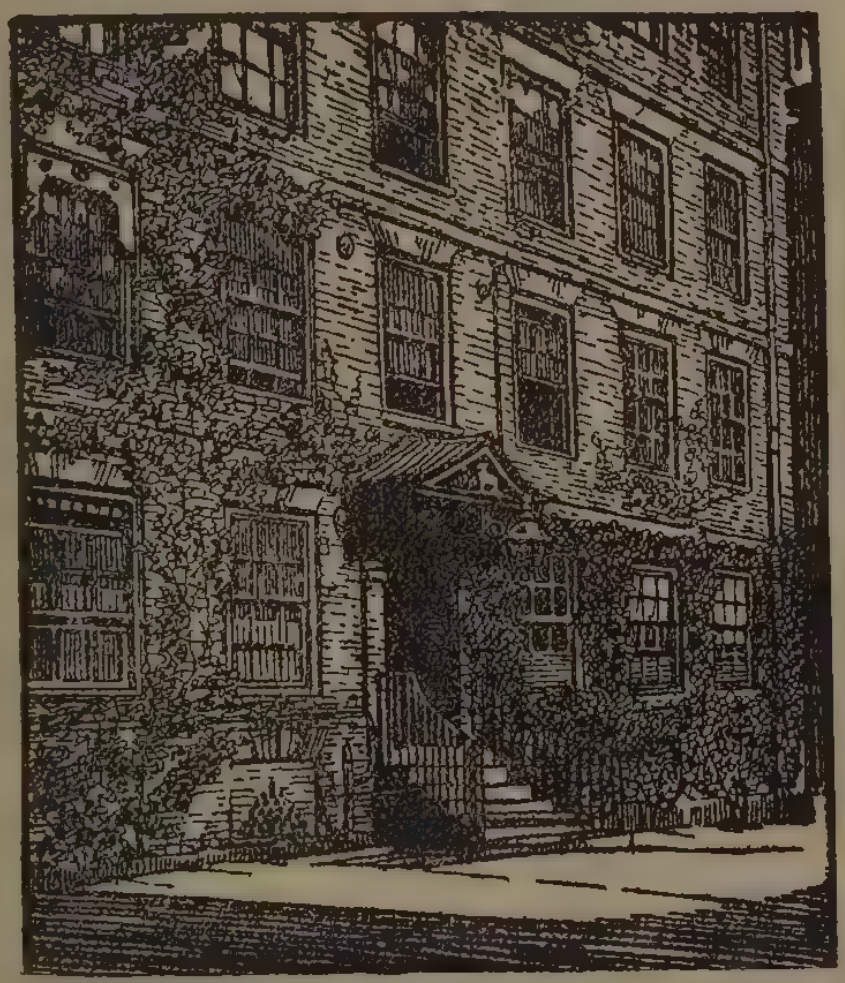
At No. 12, the last house but one, lived, in 1850, Samuel Warren, Q.C., a member of a long line of lawyers, himself a lawyer, politician and novelist and Treasurer of the Inn.

His *Ten Thousand a Year* had an enormous sale. Mr. Quicksilver, counsel for Titmouse in *Doe. D. Titmouse* v. *Aubrey*, was an open caricature of Lord Brougham, whilst the immaculate Aubrey's counsel was inspired, I fancy, by Frederick Thesiger. The original of the famous firm of "Quirk, Gammon and Snap" is said to have been "Harmer, Flower and Steele." One of the great objects of this book was to hold up to ridicule the absurd old action of ejectment, a production designed to rival in legal absurdity the case of *Bardell* v. *Pickwick* in Dickens' immortal creation, a production somewhat marred by the author's too pronounced political opinions. These are the chambers which he describes in the novel as "this green old solitude where I am writing, pleasantly recalling long past scenes of the bustling professional life."

At No. 13 another distinguished Bencher of the Inner had his chambers, the Right Hon. William Court Gully, thrice Speaker of the House of Commons. Called in 1860 he was a contemporary of Lord Chief Justice Russell and Lord Herschell on the Northern

Circuit. So dismal in their early days did their prospects appear, that Gully and Herschell determined to seek their fortunes abroad.

Lamb Building.—The space of ground enclosed by the church, the Hall, the Cloisters and Bradshaw's



LAMB BUILDING

Rents formed the original burial-place of the Knights Templars, as evidenced by some traces of their interments, and became known as Churchyard Court S. With the erection of Cæsar's Buildings in 1596 the Court was cut in two, the W. portion being known as Cloister Court, the E. as Tanfield Court. Cæsar's Buildings (now Lamb Building) were built by Sir

Julius Cæsar, then Master of the Rolls and Treasurer of the Inner, a son of Cæsar Adelmare, the Italian physician to Queen Elizabeth.

Abutting on the N.E. angle of the Cloisters, built in between the buttresses of the church, formerly stood a row of small chambers and shops, whilst to the S. lay a row of one-storied chambers known as Twisden's Buildings. The address of former buildings was Churchyard Court S. A constant source of danger to the church, they were removed about the year 1825. Here, said Ireland, writing in 1800, "shoes, boots, wigs and latitats vie with each other for pre-eminence: Why are these things permitted?" But counsel also had chambers here. This quadrangle, in the 17th cent., was known as Cloister Court, but after the Great Fire was called Lamb Court, after the principal building there, which was popularly called Lamb Building, from the crest of the Agnus Dei over the entrance. It is a fine example of Stuart architecture. Its principal feature is the doorway, reached by a flight of steps, guarded by plain iron railings. Above rests a wooden hood supported on brackets, ornamented with lions' heads, and on the pediment figures a gilded lamb and flag.

Situated well within the boundaries of the Inner Temple, Lamb Building, according to tradition, became the property of the Middle Temple by purchase from the sister Society, owing to the latter being short of ready cash. This change probably took place after the Great Fire, when Cæsar's Buildings, which it replaced, were burned down.

Here that brilliant Oriental scholar, Sir William Jones, was an inmate after his call to the Bar by the Middle Temple in 1774. From here we find him dating

his letters to Burke in the years 1779 to 1783, when he left for India upon his appointment as judge of the High Court at Calcutta. He was regarded by his contemporaries as a prodigy of learning.

A college friend and chamber-fellow of Sir William, Thomas Day was called by the Middle Temple in 1775, but although he became a good lawyer he never sought to practise. He was the gentle and eccentric author of that well-known book of our boyhood, *Sandford and Merton*. Of his eccentricities not the least amusing was his method of building after a serious study of architecture. He astonished his builder by having the walls built first and the windows knocked out afterwards !

A member of Lincoln's Inn, Judah Philip Benjamin carried on his practice from the Temple. His chambers, too, were in Lamb Building, ground floor, N. Called to the Bar at New Orleans in 1832, he was in high repute as a lawyer and an advocate. Later he did a leading business, chiefly at Washington, becoming Senator for Louisiana and Attorney-General of the Confederate States under President Davis. Escaping with difficulty after the break-up of the Confederacy, he came to England, and in 1866 was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn, the usual three years' probation as a student being waived. He was a pupil for a time of the late Baron Pollock, at 5 Child's Place. Subsequently this relationship was altered, Pollock frequently finding his way to Lamb Building to obtain instruction on points of Anglo-American jurisprudence.

Benjamin's success at the Bar was phenomenal. On his retirement from practice through ill-health, a banquet in his honour was given in 1883 in the Inner Temple Hall.

His *magnum opus*, known familiarly as *Benjamin on Sale*, will keep his memory alive for many generations of lawyers yet.

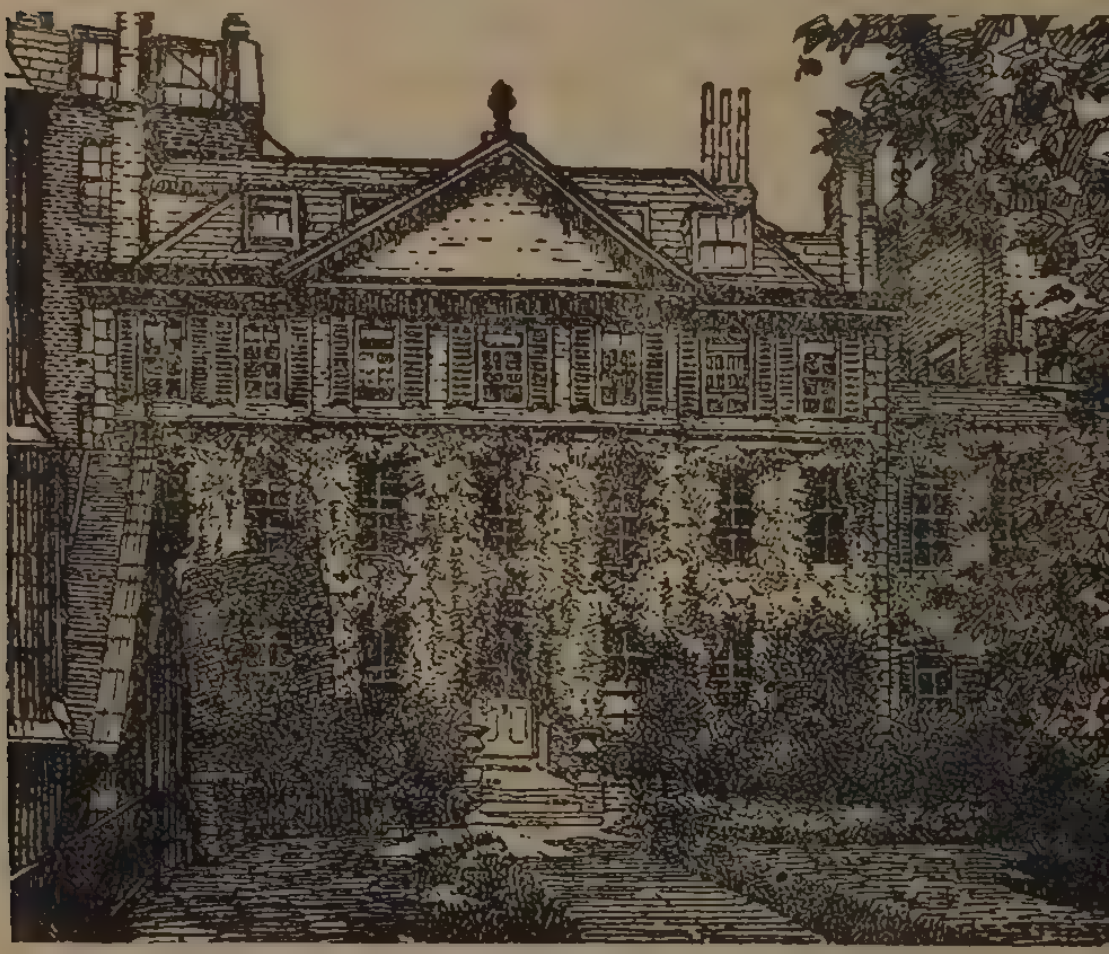
No truer picture of Temple life has been penned than by Thackeray in *Pendennis*. It was in Lamb Building that Pen and Warrington occupied a set in the attics over the chambers of old Grump, of the Norfolk Circuit, whom they awakened every morning with the roar of their shower-baths, part of the contents of which used to trickle through the ceiling upon the unwashed Grump, who daily cursed such new-fangled, dandified folly. There is, it is true, a Pump Court and a Fountain Court, but no one ever heard of a Bencher disporting in the latter. "Nevertheless," writes Thackeray, "those venerable Inns, which have the lamb and flag and the winged horse for their ensigns, have attractions for persons who inhabit them, and a share of rough comforts and freedom which men always remember with pleasure. I don't know whether the student permits himself the refreshment of enthusiasm, or indulges in poetical reminiscences as he passes by historical chambers, and says: 'Yonder Eldon lived; upon this site Coke mused upon Lyttelton; here Chitty toiled; here Barnewall and Alderson joined in their famous labours; here Byles composed his great work upon Bills, and Smith compiled his immortal leading cases; here Gustavus still toils, with Solomon to aid him'; but the man of letters can't but love the place which has been inhabited by so many of his brethren or peopled by their creations, as real to us at this day as the authors whose children they were; and Sir Roger de Coverley walking in the Temple Garden and discoursing with Mr. Spectator about the beauties in hoops and patches who are

CLOISTER COURT OR LAMB COURT

sauntering over the grass is just as lively a figure to me as old Samuel Johnson rolling through the fog with the Scotch gentlemen at his heels on their way to Dr. Goldsmith's chambers in Brick Court; or Harry Fielding, with inked ruffles and a wet towel round his head, dashing off articles at midnight for the *Covent Garden Journal*, while the printer's boy is asleep in the passage." It was to these chambers, three pair up "a nasty black staircase," that Major Pendennis groped his way one foggy day. Set down by the conductor of a City omnibus at the Temple Gate, "he was directed by a civil personage with a badge and a white apron through some dark alleys and under various melancholy archways into courts each more dismal than the other, until finally he reached Lamb Court." Several of these "dismal courts" have disappeared, but "the civil personage with a badge and a white apron" may still be found to guide the stranger who so easily loses his way in the maze of the Temple courts.

The original of George Warrington is said to have been George Stovin Venables, one of the greatest anonymous journalists of his day. Thackeray and Venables were together at Charterhouse, and on one occasion were the principals in a "mill" on the Lower Green, when the latter broke Thackeray's nose, causing a permanent disfigurement. The injury might have been remedied had the doctor been summoned in time, but, like a boy of pluck, Thackeray made light of the incident. In after life he used to point to a little statuette of him, which his mother had had made before her boy went to Charterhouse, as proof of what he would have been but for Venables' fatal blow. But for this defect, Thackeray would have been the

handsome man nature intended. It is quite possible that Venables, who was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1836, occupied chambers in Lamb Building, since his first address in the Law List is No. 2 Mitre Court Buildings, in the year 1840. In due



THE MASTER'S HOUSE

course Venables took "silk." In spite of the fine character given to George Warrington, Thackeray and Venables do not appear ever to have been very intimate.

The Master's House.—The lodging first assigned by the Knights Hospitallers to the clergyman appointed to the church was in a court then near the

S.E. angle of the church, from which circumstance it acquired the name of Parson's Court. This gentleman was known as the Master of the Temple, being the *custos* or *magister* responsible to the Prior of St John. Whether the House built by Dr. Ball in 1664, to the cost of which the Inner Temple contributed £200 and the Middle £120, stood in Parson's Court or on the site of the present Master's House is uncertain. It perished in the Great Fire. The subsequent House was erected on the present site and rebuilt in 1700. The present Master's House, a beautiful Georgian building, dates from 1764.

It is only one room deep, and the principal windows face S. The rooms, however, are spacious and handsome. It is the joint property of the two Societies. The old wall and the high wooden door, shown in 18th-cent. prints, have given way to the present iron railings and gate. In the Bench Table Orders for 1708 it was ordered that Dr. Sherlock, Master of the Temple, should be allowed "to take down the brick wall and set up pallisadoes between his garden and Tanfield Court."

This was the Thomas Sherlock who had succeeded his father William. The latter had followed Dr. Ball, and enjoyed a great reputation as a preacher, being presented in 1688 with a pair of silver candlesticks bearing the arms of the Inner Temple.

Middle Temple Gardens.—These Gardens as such are neither so old nor so extensive as those of the Inner. Lying W. of the Lane, they have gained very considerably since the two embankments in 1770 and 1865.

The upper part of the Garden just S. of the Hall and lying between Plowden Buildings and the buildings

now No. 1 and 2 Garden Court was known as the Garden Court, and contained the avenue of elms in which the rooks watched by Goldsmith from his window in No. 2 Garden Court (now No. 2 Plowden Buildings) built their nests. This land had in the first half of the 17th cent. been allowed more or less to remain derelict, but in the year that the "martyr King" perished on the scaffold it was laid out at

MIDDLE TEMPLE GARDEN GATE UNDER THE LIBRARY STAIRS

the expense of the younger members of the Inn as a garden. At the S.W. corner of Plowden Buildings once stood a catalpa tree said to have been planted by Sir Matthew Hale. For some unexplained reason it was cut down. The pedestal sundial on the S. Terrace was erected in 1719.

Middle Temple Gate-House, The.—Before entering the Temple one may well pause to admire from Fleet Street the splendid gate-house erected by Wren in 1684 to replace an earlier one said to have been

designed and built by Sir Amias Paulet. The story goes that about the year 1501, the worthy knight had been so wanting in foresight as to put Cardinal Wolsey, then curate at Lymington, in the village stocks, for intemperance as it is alleged. The Cardinal seems to have retained a lively recollection of this indignity, and, sending for him in 1515, commanded him not to quit town until further notice. "In consequence he lived five or six years in this gateway which he rebuilt, and to pacify his Eminence adorned the front with the Cardinal's cap, badges, cognizances and other devices."

The Sir Amias of this story is evidently the Sir Amisius Paulett, Treasurer of the Middle in 1520, and there is little doubt that the gateway was built by the Inn in the ordinary way. Paulett's arms, as Treasurer for the time being, would appear as is still customary, whilst those of Wolsey might naturally be added in compliment to the reigning minister. Paulett's gateway did not fall a victim to either of the fires of 1666 or 1679, but had to be taken down owing to the poor quality of the stone.

Middle Temple Hall and Parliament Chambers.—Below the Terrace lies the noble Hall of the Middle Temple. It was commenced in 1562, completed ten years later during the Treasurership of Plowden, the famous jurist, and opened in 1576 by Elizabeth in person. In 1757 the exterior was "improved" in wretched taste by a casing of stone, and its original red-brick character thus destroyed. But even so it remains a fine building. The interior, fortunately, has escaped the "improver's" sacrilegious hand. The hammer-beam roof is considered by competent architects to be "the best Elizabethan roof in London,"

and the oak screen, erected 1574, is a magnificent piece of Renaissance workmanship. Its cost must have been something very considerable, and for many years the Benchers were hard put to in finding the wherewithal to discharge their liabilities. But in this instance we may well pardon such reckless extravagance.

The following doggerel certainly hits off the chief physical characteristics of each Society :—

> "Gray's Inn for walks,
> Lincoln's Inn for a wall,
> The Inner Temple for a garden,
> And the Middle for a hall."

This fine chamber measures 100 ft. in length and 40 ft. in breadth, whilst from the floor to the spring of the louvre is 50 ft. The entrance tower is a comparatively recent addition. It was erected from the designs of James Savage, the architect, in 1832, replacing the tower with the six semicircular steps of 1667. Below the windows formerly stood bronze busts of the twelve Cæsars, but these have been replaced by sets of body armour and weapons dating from the 17th cent., and perhaps forming part of the armoury of the military companies attached to the Inn. In the middle of the Hall below the daïs is a serving-table, made from the timbers of Drake's ship, the *Golden Hinde*.

The walls are wainscoted up to the window-sills, and, as in the sister Hall, the arms and names of the Readers and Treasurers are painted upon the panelling, commencing with Richard Swain, Reader in 1597.

The Hall was refloored in 1730, and when the old boards were removed nearly one hundred pairs of small dice, yellow with age, which had dropped through the chinks, were discovered. The present tables and

forms were provided at the same time. The ancient louvre or lantern in the roof, to give vent to the smoke from the great pile of charcoal beneath, gave place in 1732 to "a new cupola with a vane," which is represented in the engravings in the works of Ireland and Herbert, but which in its turn has been displaced in favour of the present louvre by Hakewill, a restoration to be highly commended. The ancient hearth and louvre were, as we learn from *The Gentleman's Magazine*, still in use in the year 1812. In the two bay windows flanking either side of the W. end are some fine examples of ancient heraldry, one at least dating back to 1540, probably a relic from the old Hall. Amongst others are those of Lord Chancellors Cowper, Somers, and Hardwicke, Lord Chief Justice Kenyon; John Dunning, Lord Ashburton; Sir Richard Pepper Arden; William Scott, Lord Stowell and his brother, Lord Chancellor Eldon. Plowden's arms are to be found in the middle of the top lights, beneath which is an inscription in a pair of hexameters, with the date 1573, commemorating his zealous attention in the erection of the Hall: "Hoc perfecit opus legum cultoribus hujus maxima cura viri; sit honos hiis omne per aevum."

In the S. bay is a large leaden coffer with the lid made from the timber from the old Temple bridge or stairs, first erected, as the inscription asserts, by the Knights Templars, restored by order of Edward III. in 1331, and repaired with the aid of Elizabeth in 1584. The arms of Edward VII. will be found in the middle window on the S., set there when he was Prince of Wales, whilst adjoining are those of the late Duke of Clarence, who, like his father, was also a Bencher of the Middle.

Above the Bench table hangs the celebrated portrait of Charles I., either a replica of the Windsor picture by Van Dyck, or a copy by Henry Stone, who died 1653. The attendant in this painting holding the King's helmet is thought by some to be the Duke

MIDDLE TEMPLE HALL

d'Epernon, but it is more probably Mons. de St Antoine, equerry to the King of France, who was sent to England by Louis XIII. with six horses as a present to Charles. Other portraits are those of Charles II., by Sir Godfrey Kneller, and of his brother James, Duke of York, by John Riley, of William III., of Anne, by Murray, of Elizabeth, and of the first two Georges.

Above these paintings hang two colours, one belonging to an old Inns of Court corps, and the other

an old Jack prior to the union in 1801. A recent addition is the electric light in the form of groups of flambeaux stuck on the walls in the ancient fashion.

The table on which the plate is displayed on Grand Nights is believed to have been presented by Queen Elizabeth. It is known as the "Cupboard," or *Abacus*, at which the moot men used to stand, who were consequently called the Cupboard men.

The esteem in which this historic chamber was held soon after its erection is shown by the fact that in 1610 the Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge, modelled their beautiful Hall after that of the Middle Temple, following in its erection almost precisely the same scale of measurement.

From the floor of the Minstrel Gallery is suspended a handsome brass lantern, said to be of equal antiquity to the Hall, the glass lights bearing the arms of Elizabeth, Raleigh, Drake, and the two crests of the Knights Templars, the two men on one horse and the Agnus Dei.

A curious discovery was made in the Hall in the autumn of 1894, during the process of installing the electric light. When the wires were being carried up the structural walls of the Hall a box was found concealed in a recess of the wall near the roof, containing a skeleton in a perfect state of preservation. From its appearance, it is surmised that it must have been hidden here for upwards of 200 years. Whether it had been used to illustrate anatomical lectures or was the victim of some tragedy will probably never be determined.

In connection with dining in Hall a curious old custom still survives in the Middle Temple. The panyer-man was the official whose duty it was to

fetch the bread from Westminster, and then sound his horn in all the courts to call members to dinner from their chambers. To this day at 6.30 p.m. the panyer-man in full uniform, with his silver-mounted ox-horn, solemnly summons the members to dinner. The waiters in the Inner Temple are still called panyer-men.

On the outside, at the W. end of the Hall, formerly stood a row of shops or sheds, six in number. In 1731 these were in the occupation of two persons, a barber and a stocking-weaver. These shops are shown in the early 18th-cent. prints, but do not appear in Ireland's engraving of the Hall in 1800.

The Parliament Chambers.—The Benchers' chambers are gained through a pair of ancient carved oak doors, relics of the old Hall in Pump Court. A long corridor leads to the Parliament Chamber, a fine room where hang portraits of Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, the great historian; Sir Walter Raleigh; John Scott, Lord Eldon; Lord Chancellor Somers; Richard Bethell, Lord Westbury; Lord Chancellor Hardwicke; Earl Cowper, Lord Chancellor; Frederick, Prince of Wales, father of George III.; and Francis North, Baron Guilford. Here also hangs a full-length portrait of Edward VII. from the brush of Mr. Frank Holl, R.A., painted in 1884. The walls of the corridor are hung with ancient armour and weapons, and lined with engravings of eminent lawyers connected with the Inn. There are also numerous engravings and prints of the Temple Church and old buildings and courts in the Temple. Here, too, is the original oil painting of Fountain Court by Nichols.

Just outside the door of the Parliament Chamber stands a pedestal covered with ancient tiles taken from

MIDDLE TEMPLE HALL; EAST END

the floor of the church. Upon this pedestal rests a Greek sepulchral monument, which was brought to light during the excavations about the church at the restoration in 1842. It belongs to the 3rd cent., as is shown by the formation of the letters, by the sign of ✠ for the Roman Denarii, and by the penalty for violating the tomb to be given partly to the Imperial Treasury. The inscription in Greek, so far as it has been deciphered, runs as follows :—

"I have erected this monument to my husband M. Curtius Theseus, and I will not allow any other to be placed herein—and if any shall do so, let him pay to the (Imperial) Treasury 2500 Denarii and to the city of Histiœa 2500 more.

"A Thracian I was of noble birth, named M. Curtius Theseus, and I married a daughter of Seia of Orea, a girl innocent and rich."

Histiœa was a city in Bœotia, and Orea was a neighbouring town. The stone is evidently a relic of the Roman occupation of Britain, but how it came upon the Temple land remains a mystery.

Another object of interest is a cabinet made from the wood of a catalpa tree, said to have been planted by Sir Matthew Hale, which formerly grew in the Middle Temple Garden.

In one of the rooms is a painting known as "The Judgment of Solomon," an early Venetian work said to be by Palma Vecchio.

Fresh interest was added to this historic building by the discovery in 1828, among the Harleian Manuscripts at the British Museum, of the diary of a student of the Inn, John Manningham. On 2 February, 1602, he writes : "At our feast we had a play called *Twelve Night, or What You Will,* much like the *Comedy of*

Errors, or *Menœchmi* in Plautus; but most like and neere to that in Italian called *Inganni*." This performance formed part of the Post Revels, which immediately followed the Christmas Revels.

John Manningham was the adopted son of Richard Manningham, a City merchant, of Bradbourne, near Maidstone. Richard was twice married, first to a Dutch lady, a connection of Lady Palavicini, wife of Sir Oliver Cromwell, uncle of the Protector, and, secondly, to a Kentish widow, by neither of whom had he any issue. John, his heir, was admitted as member of the Middle in 1597. He married Anne, the sister of his chamber-fellow, Edward Curle, a protégé of Sir Robert Cecil, through whom he became auditor of the Court of Wards. Their son Richard, upon his succession to the family estate of Bradbourne, sold it in 1656 to Mr. Justice Twisden, of the Inner.

A fellow-student with John Manningham was John Pym, the famous statesman and orator. He was admitted in 1602.

"After dinner," says Charles Knight, the Shakespearean enthusiast, "a play, and that play Shakespere's *Twelfth Night*. And the actual roof under which the happy company of benchers, barristers and students first listened to that joyous and exhilarating play, full of the truest and most beautiful humanities, especially fitted for a season of cordial mirthfulness, is still standing. Here Shakespere's *Twelfth Night* was acted in the Christmas of 1601; and here its exquisite poetry first fell upon the ear of some secluded scholar, and was to him as a fragrant flower blooming amidst the arid sands of his Bracton and his Fleta; and here its gentle satire upon the vain and the foolish penetrated into the natural heart of some grave and

formal dispenser of justice, and made him look with tolerance, if not with sympathy, upon the mistakes of less grave and formal fellow-men ; and here its ever-gushing spirit of enjoyment—of fun without malice, of wit without grossness, of humour without extravagance—taught the swaggering, roaring overgrown boy, miscalled student, that there were higher sources of mirth than affrays in Fleet Street or drunkenness in Whitefriars."

That Shakespeare on this occasion took an active part is not improbable, since he was then a member of the Globe company, which alone was capable of producing his plays. In any case, he may well have been present. And here, too, Elizabeth must have come, accompanied by her Court, to witness the plays, or to lead the dance with Christopher Hatton or some equally comely courtier. We can well picture the Virgin Queen in this stately Hall, the centre of a brilliant group of statesmen and lawyers, soldiers and sailors, poets and courtiers. The figures are before us of the prudent and wise Burleigh, and the grave Lord Chancellor Hatton ; the skilful Cecil, first Earl of Salisbury, the one-time friend of Raleigh ; Raleigh himself, statesman, soldier by land and sea, scholar, poet, historian, philosopher and courtier ; Francis Drake, the gallant seaman ; the chivalrous Sidney ; Thomas Sackville, Chancellor of Oxford ; William Howard, Lord High Admiral, and a host of others of greater or less renown. Under what different circumstances had many of these previously met and were yet to meet again !

In Westminster Hall, on 19 February, 1600, sat Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, as High Steward of England, for the trial of Essex and Southampton for

high treason, and with him sat Lord Chief Justice Popham, who succeeded Plowden as Treasurer of the Middle, and Lord Chief Justice Anderson, a former Treasurer of the Inner, other puisne judges, and Raleigh amongst the Commissioners. For the Crown appeared Serjeant Yelverton and Sir Edward Coke, Attorney-General, and among their witnesses were Robert Cecil and Walter Raleigh.

A few years later, and the scene shifts to the Commission of Oyer and Terminer holden at Winchester, on 17 November, 1603, and the prisoner at the Bar is Sir Walter Raleigh. Amongst the Commissioners sat Robert Cecil, now Earl of Salisbury, who had made his peace with James, Popham and Anderson; and in the jury-box an obsequious jury. Serjeant Heale and Sir Edward Coke were for the Crown, but so weak was the case for the prosecution that Coke had to eke out the poverty of his cause by the vilest personal abuse ever used, I trust, by any counsel, not even excepting the foul-mouthed Jeffreys. Raleigh's conduct, on the contrary, was dignified and refined, and his ready wit never deserted him. Amongst other choice epithets used by Coke were "monster," "foul viper" and "spider of hell."

"Thou Viper, I thou thee, thou Traitor!" cried Coke.

To which Raleigh replied with a dignity that the Bench, as a whole, sadly lacked, "It becometh not a man of Quality and Virtue to call me so; but I take comfort in it, it is all you can do."

The trial was a mere judicial farce, the evidence was of the flimsiest, and Sir John Popham seems to have thought so too when, in delivering the judgment of the Court, he said, "I never saw the like Tryal, and hope I shall never see the like again."

And so Raleigh passed to the Tower, for fourteen weary years a State prisoner. Then came his expedition to Guiana, destined from the first to failure by the treachery of the pusillanimous James, and on 29 October, 1618, in Old Palace Yard at Westminster, he fell a victim to the undying vengeance of a cowardly and avaricious king, for James never forgave Raleigh's share in obtaining the conviction of Essex.

And the Benchers recognized his greatness, for Raleigh was a Middle Templar, by holding a banquet in his honour. How the students must have made the old Hall ring again with cheers for the guest of the evening!

Raleigh actually resided in chambers in the Temple in the year 1576, as appears from the dedication of a satire inscribed to him by George Gascoyne.

Middle Temple Lane.—This Lane probably existed in the time of the Knights Templars, for in 1330 we find Edward III., upon a complaint raised by the lawyers, ordering the Mayor, who then held the Temple as escheator for the King, to keep the gates of the New Temple open, so that the King's justices, clerks and others who wished to go by water to Westminster might pass through to the Temple Stairs.

Passing through the Middle Temple Gate-House, we may observe a quaint old building occupied by a stationer; formerly known as the Old Post House, once occupied, if tradition speaks truly, by the Queen's printers. From the days of George I. to the institution of the penny post in 1840, it was also used as a post office. Two quaint staircases give access to the upper rooms, those on each floor forming a complete set of chambers. Here in the 18th cent. numerous well-known works were published, such as Rowe's edition

of Shakespeare; *The Devout Christian's Companion*, by Archbishop Tillotson (1709); La Bruyère's *Theophrastus* (1709); Swift's *Tale of a Tub* (1739); Whitelocke's *Memorials of English Affairs*; the works of the

MIDDLE TEMPLE LANE, NORTH

Earls of Rochester and Roscommon and Sir Roger L'Estrange's *Josephus*. No. 1 was rebuilt in 1693.

The old business of law stationers, printers and publishers is still carried on by Messrs. Abram and Sons, in whose family it has now been since 1774.

Immediately opposite the Old Post House stood a row of small houses known as Child's Place, so called after the wealthy goldsmith of Charles II.'s time,

whose premises with the sign of "Ye Marygold" in Fleet Street adjoined the Temple. Entrance to Child's Place was gained by a narrow passage from Fleet Street.

At Child's Bank, then "Blanchard and Child, Goldsmiths," Charles himself banked, and Nell Gwynne, Samuel Pepys and Prince Rupert, whose valuable jewels were put up to lottery by Francis Child, the King distributing the tickets amongst the lords and ladies of the Court. In the old ledgers may still be read the items of the sums paid to Charles for the sale of Dunkirk to the French.

In his *Tale of Two Cities*, Dickens has described Child's Bank under the name of "Telson's":—

"Thus it came to pass that Telson's was the triumphant perfection of inconvenience. After bursting open a door of idiotic obstinacy with a weak rattle in its throat, you fell into Telson's down two steps and came to your senses in a miserable little shop with two little counters, where the oldest of men made your cheque shake as if the wind rustled it, while they examined the signature by the dingiest of windows, which were always under a shower-bath of mud from Fleet Street and which were made dingier by their own iron bars and the heavy shadow of Temple Bar. If your business necessitated your seeing 'the House,' you were put into a species of condemned hold at the back, where you meditated on a misspent life until the House came in with hands in its pockets and you could hardly blink at it in the dismal twilight."

Child's Place was on part of the site of the ancient Devil's Tavern, which had stood next to Child's on the E. since the days of James I., and here the firm erected the row of houses mentioned above.

The Devil's Tavern, or No. 2 Fleet Street, flaunted the sign of St Dunstan tweaking the Devil's nose. Here Ben Jonson presided over the Apollo Club, one of the first institutions of the kind in London, and here with Shakespeare, Fletcher and Beaumont and other kindred spirits must have spent many a merry evening.

In Charles II.'s days the "Devil" became the haunt of the lawyers and doctors. Here Steele and Bickerstaff used to meet. Here Swift dined with Addison and Garth, and here Colley Cibber, the poet laureate, used to recite his verses.

Nearly a century later the Royal Society held its annual dinner here, and in 1751, at the invitation of Dr. Johnson, a supper was given by the club to Mrs. Lennox, in celebration of her first novel, *The Life of Harriet Stuart*. Here Goldsmith founded his Whist Club. In 1788 the old tavern was pulled down and absorbed by the bank.

When the bank was rebuilt in 1879 an ancient crypt was discovered which is said to belong to the house of the Carmelite Friars founded in 1241. It probably dates from Edward I.

Nos. 2 and 3 Middle Temple Lane are thought to have been destroyed in the Fire of 1679. No. 3 occupied the site of Luther's Building, erected by Anthony Luther, an Utter Barrister of the Middle Temple, in 1614, "near the Middle Temple Gate," and were rebuilt after the Fire, when leave was given to the builders to make jetties or projecting upper stories. No. 2 is the site of the brick building erected on this side of the Lane at the joint expense of Sir Walter Cope and Sir Arthur Gorges, which was so flimsily built that in 1629 it was ordered by the Bench

to be pulled down and rebuilt. It is described as lying between Luther's Building and the Middle Temple Gate.

Sir Walter Cope was at this time Keeper of Hyde Park and owner of Kensington manor when James I.

MIDDLE TEMPLE LANE, SOUTH

stayed with him in 1612. The mansion passed to his daughter, who was the wife of the Earl of Holland, by whom it was renamed Holland House. Sir Arthur Gorges was a poet and fellow-adventurer with Raleigh in the Islands' voyage, of which he wrote an account, subsequently published by Purchas in his *Pilgrims*. In 1611, with Cope, he started a central office for the

transaction and registration of the sale of lands, tenements and goods and also mercantile and other business, called "The Publicke Register for General Commerce." This venture was unsuccessful, but it accounts for the association of these two gentlemen in the building, which no doubt was intended to be used as an office for the new institution.

Other buildings were erected in 1610 by Francis Warnet and John Puleston. They may have been part of Brick Court abutting on the Lane and burned down in the Fire of 1679.

Below we come to the chambers of Hare Court on the left and Brick Court on the right. Next we pass the entrance to Pump Court on the left and the Hall on the right. Further down are the entrance to Elm Court and the archway into Crown Office Row, with Harcourt Buildings beyond, whilst opposite are Plowden Buildings, and finally, at the foot of the Lane, Temple Gardens, almost on the site of the old Temple Stairs. The water-gate, which the present Temple Gardens represents, stood much higher up the Lane. Between it and the present No. 3 Plowden Buildings, as we learn from a letter dated 9 October, 1689, stood Barbon's Buildings. Palmer, who writes from "No. 3 up the steps and one pair of stairs," relates how there were many false pressmen about, one of whom he saw "pumped last night in the Temple." From which it would appear that the Temple pumps were not invariably used for their natural and legitimate purposes. Barbon's Buildings may have been the "good fair fabrick" erected in 1653.

Elias Ashmole, friend of Evelyn the diarist and founder of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, had chambers in Middle Temple Lane between Pump

Court and Elm Court. Admitted to the Middle in 1657, these chambers were broken into by soldiers on pretence of searching for Charles II. In 1660 he was called to the Bar, and in 1668 married in Lincoln's Inn chapel, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Dugdale, the celebrated antiquary. The bulk of his collection came from John Tradescant, the botanist and antiquary who, in 1659, presented Ashmole with his house and physic garden in South Lambeth, together with his collection of antiquities. His own collection of models and coins, which were at his chambers in the Lane, suffered in the Fire of 1679, but Evelyn, writing ten years later, was unable to say whether any had escaped.

Evelyn is also a link with another famous collection, the original of the British Museum. He relates how on 16 December, 1686, he carried his patroness, the Countess of Sunderland, to see the rarities of Mr. Charleton of the Middle Temple. This collection was afterwards purchased by Sir Hans Sloane, and together with additions made by the latter formed the nucleus of the British Museum, being offered to the nation under Sir Hans' will, the Government in 1754 raising £100,000 by lottery for its purchase, together with the Cottonian Library then at Montague House. To this George III. added his "King's Library," which was eventually graciously presented to the nation by George IV. after he had secretly sold it to the Government and received his price.

The sundial on No. 6 Elm Court facing the Hall bears the motto, *Pereunt et Imputantur*.

Middle Temple Library.—The new library lies at the foot of the slope S.W. of the Hall. It is a Gothic structure, and was designed by Mr. H. R. Abraham.

Viewed from Fountain Court, its proportions appear perfectly symmetrical, but from the Gardens its height is so out of proportion to its size as to be positively unsightly. The library itself forms the second floor, the ground and first floors being used as offices, chambers and common rooms.

Crossing a bridge, the archway of which gives access to the garden, and ascending a winding staircase in an octagonal tower, the visitor enters somewhat unexpectedly a remarkably fine chamber, with an open hammer-beam roof, the principal ribs of which rest on massive stone corbels, very similar in design to those in Westminster Hall. This apartment measures 85 ft. in length by 42 ft. in width, and 63 ft. to the apex of the roof. At the S. end is a fine oriel window projecting 10 ft. This is decorated with heraldic glass containing the arms of the royal princes from Richard Cœur de Lion to Edward VII. when Prince of Wales. The windows at the N. end and at the sides are similarly enriched. The new building was opened by Edward VII., when Prince of Wales, on 31 October, 1861, when the Duke of Cambridge, Lord Brougham, Lord Westbury and other distinguished men were present.

Of the original library we have not much knowledge. It was probably only a room in a set of chambers.

That there was such a library prior to the reign of Henry VIII. we learn from the Cotton MSS., which contains the following reference :—

"They have now no library, so that they cannot attaine to the knowledge of divers learnings, but to their great charges by the buying of such bookes as they lust to study. They had a simple library, in which were not many bookes besides the law, and that the library by meanes that it stood alwayes open, and that

the learners had not each of them a key unto it, it was at last robbed and spoiled of all the bookes of it."

This reproach, however, was wiped out in the reign of Charles I. by the generosity of Robert Ashley, a collateral ancestor of the late Earl of Shaftesbury, and for upwards of fifty years a fellow of the Middle. Dying in 1641, he bequeathed his library to the Inn, together with £300, "by the interest whereof some able student being chosen by the Bench to be the Governour or Keeper of the said Library might be better maintained." Another benefactor was William Petyt, of the Inner, who bequeathed £50.

A library had already been fitted up in the year 1625, on the site of the present Plowden Buildings in Garden Court, where Goldsmith first lived. It is described by Worsley as being over the kitchen at No. 2 Garden Court. This building probably owed its existence to Sir Robert Ashley's exertions. A portrait, said by Sir William Musgrave to be that of Sir Robert, used to hang in this building, and is now in the new library.

An account of the condition of the library in 1717 is given by Henry Carey, a member of Lincoln's Inn, in a letter of complaint to his patron, the Earl of Oxford. Carey had been appointed Clerk to the chapel of Lincoln's Inn, and at the same time Keeper of the Library of the Middle Temple. Apparently for political reasons he was dismissed from these appointments; *hinc illæ lacrimæ*. In the library, he says, "I employed myself in regulating and reducing to decency and order a place which, through long neglect, was become a perfect chaos of paper and a wilderness of books, which were mixed and misplaced to such a degree that it was next to an impossibility to find out

any particular book without tumbling over the whole. This undertaking cost me above twelve months' hard labour and pains, besides money out of my own pocket to transcribers. However, I went forward with the greater alacrity, because Mr. Ludlow, then Treasurer, encouraged me by repeated promises (which I now may call specious and empty) of reward when completed, as now it is, I having made a new catalogue in five alphabets with columns (all of my own invention) of all the tracts contained in the library, which catalogue is in 100 sheets in folio, and the books are now so regularly ranged and the catalogue so plain, easy and exact, that anybody may go directly from it to any required book or pamphlet without any difficulty or hesitation ; so that not only the catalogue but even the library itself are evident demonstrations of my labour and instances of their ingratitude to me, who egged me on to this work without rewarding me for it."

In this sad case, so far as I know, virtue was the sole reward.

At the commencement of the last century John Herbert, author of the *Antiquities of the Inns of Court and Chancery*, was librarian.

The library now consists of 50,000 to 60,000 volumes, but neither in extent nor in comfort and seclusion can it compare with that of the Inner Temple. As a piece of architecture, however, the Middle easily carries away the palm. The recent addition at the entrance was erected in 1905.

Mitre Court Buildings.—At the upper end of King's Bench Walk, formerly known as Exchequer Court, on the N. side we now find Mitre Court Buildings, on the site of Old Fuller's Rents. The first portion

of the latter was commenced in 1562, and in 1576 Francis Beaumont, afterwards a Justice of the Common Pleas and father of Francis Beaumont, the dramatist, was admitted to a chamber in this building, and here probably his more famous son, who was admitted to the Society on 3 November, 1600, passed much of his time, if he did not actually share his father's room. This portion was built by John Fuller, Treasurer of the Inner in 1562. Master Fuller had previously, in 1550, upon his refusal to take up the office of Reader, been expelled the House and fined 100 marks. Upon his humble submission and promise two years later to read at the next Vacation, he was pardoned and readmitted to the Bench. The second part of Fuller's Rents, to the W., was not built till some years later, the first tenant—a Mr. Raymond—being admitted to a chamber here in 1588.

The Middle Temple, early in the reign of Elizabeth, had attempted to deprive the Inner Temple of Lyon's Inn. The Benchers of the Inner accordingly sought the good offices of Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester, then reigning favourite of Elizabeth. Whether the successful issue was due to the Earl's influence or not, the Benchers showed their gratitude by admitting Dudley gratis to a chamber in Fuller's Rents in 1576. The following year they granted him a licence to extend this building upon the site now occupied by No. 1 King's Bench Walk for the purpose of an office, as he then held the post of Master of the Alienation Office.

Two other famous inmates of Fuller's Rents were Sir Thomas Bromley and Sir Edward Coke. The former was a member of a distinguished legal family and successively Recorder of London, 1566 ; Solicitor-

General, 1569; and Keeper of the Great Seal and Lord Chancellor, 1579. He presided at Throckmorton's trial for his alleged participation in Wyatt's rebellion, and joined with other judges in refusing to allow a witness produced by the prisoner to give evidence and in denying him inspection of a statute upon which he relied. Bromley's summing up was so deficient, either from want of memory or from good-will, that Throckmorton "craved indifferency and did help the judge's old memory with his own recital."

Sir Edward Coke was perhaps, as Judge Willis once said, the most illustrious member of the Inner. His "acute intellect, powerful memory, untiring industry, the variety of the offices he held, his courage in asserting the independence of the judges, his bold and daring efforts to establish the rights and privileges of the citizen have made him the greatest figure this House presents."

For services such as these we can forgive his pseudo-antiquarian pedantry and unhistorical mind.

A student of Clifford's Inn, Coke entered the Inner Temple in 1572, and in due course became Treasurer of the Inn. In 1588, at the request of the Earl of Warwick, who had succeeded to Lancaster's property, he was admitted to the latter's chambers in Fuller's Rents, which he retained till his death in 1634. Upon his elevation to the Bench, by the rules of the Society, Sir Edward ceased to be one of the Fellows, but he nevertheless retained these rooms, from which he gained access to Serjeants' Inn by a private passage, still existing, past a small garden and through a door now seldom if ever closed.

It was by way of the Speakership of the Commons

that Coke reached the Bench, like so many of his predecessors. His foulness of tongue is in singular contrast with his greatness of character, and not even the dignity of his high office appears to have restrained this unhappy blemish. In taking leave of the House he apologized for the many unbecoming expressions into which his natural proclivities had too often led him.

Too independent for James, he was, in 1616, removed from his office of Chief Justice of the King's Bench, but appointed Treasurer of England in Commission. In December, 1620, he fell on still more evil times and was committed to the Tower, his chambers searched and his papers taken away, "and yet nothing could be found in any of them to bring him into question." On 8 August, 1622, he was released and subsequently sat in Parliament for Coventry, Norfolk and Bucks. In July, 1634, a warrant was again issued to search his chambers in Fuller's Rents, and on 3 September following this true patriot and opponent of the royal prerogative, harassed to the last, died at Stoke Pogis in the eighty-eighth year of his age.

Sir Robert Heath, Treasurer of the Inner from 1617 to 1625, occupied chambers in Fuller's Rents looking out into Ram Alley in 1618. He became successively Recorder of London, Solicitor- and Attorney-General and Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, from which office he was discharged without any cause being assigned and resumed his practice at the Bar as junior Serjeant. In 1641 he was made a Judge of the King's Bench and joined the King at York the following year. Impeached in 1644 he fled to France and died five years later at Calais. Heath was one of the chief advocates of the Crown, and with great learning and

ingenuity assisted Charles in his foolish and high-handed encroachments upon the liberty of the subject.

A career singularly like Heath's was Sir Edward Lyttelton's, whom we find in Coke's old chambers in 1634. He became successively Chief Justice of Wales, Recorder of London, Solicitor-General, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas and finally, in 1641, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. A fellow-student with Selden, he appeared for his old friend upon his imprisonment for the tonnage and poundage affair in 1629. Although a moderate man, Lyttelton delivered an elaborate argument against Hampden in the Ship-money case. With the acceptance of the Great Seal his troubles commenced. In the King's absence he became the sport of both parties, and equally distrusted by both, a position so embarrassing as to cause a serious illness. He finally solved his difficulties by flying to the King at York. On the outbreak of the Civil War he was commissioned by Charles to raise a regiment of foot from the Inns of Court and Chancery, of which he became colonel. It was whilst drilling these recruits at Oxford that he contracted a chill from which he died.

Though a timid politician, Lyttelton was one of the first swordsmen of his day and of approved valour in the field. He was succeeded in command of his regiment by Heath.

In some upper rooms in these old buildings, Charles Lamb and his sister lived for eight years upon their return to the scenes of their childhood in the year 1800. It is of these chambers, in the attic story at No. 16, that Lamb writes to Manning. "Bring your glass," he cries exultantly, "and I will show you the Surrey hills." His bed faced the river, so that without much wrying his neck he could see the white sails glide by

the bottom of King's Bench Walk as he lay abed. "The best room," he adds, "has an excellent tip-toe prospect, casement windows with small panes—to look more like a cottage." The Baron Maseres, mentioned by Lamb for his eccentricity in walking about in the costume of the time of George I., lived near Lamb in Mitre Court. No mean lawyer, Maseres was also an antiquary of some distinction.

The present building was erected in 1830.

In the demolition of the old buildings a number of Irish labourers, employed upon the work, struck upon a hoard of coins which they proceeded to distribute amongst themselves; but falling out over the division of the spoils, they were discovered by Mr. Gurney, clerk of the works, and taken into custody and searched, when gold coins of all the sovereigns from Charles II. to George II. to the number of sixty-seven were found upon their persons.

At back of Fuller's Rents was a gate leading into Mitre Court and Ram Alley and thence into The Street, as Fleet Street was then called.

So great was the nuisance caused by this entrance, owing to the disreputable houses in Ram Alley and Mitre Court, that in 1595 the gate was ordered by the Bench to be stopped up. This order was never apparently put into execution, since we find regulations issued in 1600 and 1602 for its supervision, regulations which have been in force ever since. It was upon the complaint of Rowland Hinde and William Atkynson in the former year, "that one Gibbes, dwelling in Ram Alley, late removed the posts which stood in the Temple ground, whereupon a door was wont to hang and also built a staircase upon the ground of the Temple . . . and made two doors out

of his kitchen opening into the Temple ground and made forms for such as resort to his house upon the Temple ground to sit tippling and drinking, to the great annoy of the students and gentlemen of the House," that the Benchers ordered the nuisance to be abated, "or else Ram Alley door to be shut." A house eventually was built blocking up Ram Alley, which after 1799 itself disappeared. But the passages to the Fleet and to Serjeants' Inn still remain.

New Court.—This really does not belie its name, since it is the latest Court added to the Temple. Formerly part of Essex House Garden, the land was purchased from Dr. Nicholas Barbon, said to be the son of the Parliamentarian, "Praise-God-Barebones." Essex House had been sold to the Doctor by Thomas Thynn, Viscount Sidmouth. In 1676 Barbon sold a portion of the land to the Middle Temple, viz. the site of the W. buildings in Garden Court, the whole of New Court and a strip of Essex Court. Upon the other portion he built Essex Street in 1680. The water-gate at the foot is said to be that belonging to Essex House, but its appearance is more in consonance with the later date of 1680. Part of Essex House was standing in 1777, and here Essex, the Parliamentarian General, was born and also died; and here Sir Orlando Bridgman lived when holding the Great Seal.

Thus has perished an historic house, with many another along the river-side. Well may we lament with Gay—

> "Here Arundel's famed structure reared its frame;
> The street alone retains an empty name.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> There Essex's stately pile adorned the shore;
> There Cecil's, Bedford's, Villiers'—now no more."

New Court consists of only one building, erected in 1676 from designs by Sir Christopher Wren. The Little Gate of the Middle Temple, giving access to Devereux Court, was constructed at the same time. In Devereux Court stood, in 1665, "The Grecian," one of the first London coffee-houses, kept by Constantine, a Greek. It became a meeting-place for classical scholars. In the 18th cent. a dispute concerning the accent of a Greek word ended fatally, one of the disputants being run through the body as they fought outside in the Court.

Paper Buildings.—The first buildings on the site of the present Paper Buildings were known as Heyward's Buildings, after their first tenant in 1610, Edward Heyward, who had for his chamber-fellow the great John Selden, perhaps the most famous jurist of his day. On this spot where Selden lodged and wrote his great treatise, *Mare Clausum*, were, at No. 1, the chambers of Mr. Asquith, K.C., M.P., Home Secretary in Gladstone's last ministry and later himself Prime Minister. By returning to his practice at the Bar after the defeat of Lord Rosebery's administration in 1895, Mr. Asquith destroyed the old tradition that an ex-Home Secretary must not appear before the judges, the decisions of whom he may have had to review.

The old buildings were four stories high. The topmost had an open gallery, and in one of these rooms overlooking the gardens Selden lived. In 1620, upon the "disadmittance of Heyward, Selden was admitted, upon a fine of 40s., to the whole set, since the double-chamber was but little and had but one bedchamber."

Selden took a prominent part in affairs of State in

those stirring times. Although trusted and consulted by James, he suffered imprisonment at his hands in 1621. He was one of the managers of Buckingham's impeachment in 1626, and in the following year de fended Hampden. He also assisted to hold down the Speaker in the Chair on that memorable occasion when Holles read the "Protest." For his share in this affair Selden was arrested and again stood in danger of imprisonment. In 1629 he was imprisoned for the tonnage and poundage business, but in 1633 we find him one of the managers of the famous masque, The Triumph of Peace, given in honour of Henrietta. He died in 1654 at the mansion of the Earls of Kent in Whitefriars, to whom he was steward, where he had rooms for many years and where his library of 8000 volumes, now in the Bodleian, was housed. He was magnificently buried in the Temple church "near the steps where the saints' bell hangeth," at night, after the primitive custom of the early Christians, his funeral being attended by the leading men of the day.

Samuel Butler, the author of *Hudibras*, was attendant to the Duchess of Kent during Selden's stewardship about the year 1628. Selden appeared to have interested himself in the young man's studies, and it is more than probable that Butler was a frequent visitor at Paper Buildings.

Edward Law, Lord Ellenborough, after being called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn, became a member of the Inner in 1783, and in 1785 we find him at No. 6 Paper Buildings. He was leading counsel for Warren Hastings, and in 1802 created Chief Justice of the King's Bench, the last holder of that office to sit in the Cabinet. He was one of the greatest of our Common Law judges. Another distinguished member of the

Inner, called to the Bar in 1806, Stephen Lushington, had chambers at No. 14. Returned for Great Yarmouth in the Whig interest, Lushington, an ardent reformer, took an active and leading part in the political questions of the day. His ability as counsel was evidenced by his masterly speech in the defence of Queen Caroline. As Judge of the High Court of Admiralty and as Dean of Arches, he attained the highest eminence. He died in his 92nd year at Ockham Park in Surrey.

Edward Hall Alderson, called in 1811 by the Inner, a few years later also occupied chambers on the same staircase. After a most distinguished career at Cambridge—he was Senior Wrangler, Smith's prizeman and Chancellor's medallist, a treble event only once equalled and never excelled—he became a pupil of the great Chitty and ultimately Baron Alderson of the Court of Exchequer. By lawyers he is remembered as the joint author of *Barnewell and Alderson's Reports*, and by the public as the father of the late talented Marchioness of Salisbury, whose romantic marriage with Lord Robert Cecil, afterwards Prime Minister, is matter of history. Their second son, Lord Robert Cecil, K.C., M.P., has chambers at No. 4, close to the site of his grandfather's rooms.

Another occupant of No. 14 was Sir William Erle. Called to the Bar by the Middle in 1819, Erle succeeded Sir Alexander Cockburn as Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1859. He was declared by Lord Coleridge to have been the finest advocate of his day, and he earned the title of the best judge who ever sat on the Bench.

Two other eminent men, not lawyers, George Canning, the statesman, and Samuel Rogers, the poet,

lived in these buildings in 1792, when the latter published his *Pleasures of Memory*, which appealed so strongly to the taste of the day. Rogers was an intimate of Fox, Sheridan and Horne Tooke, and spent some time with Byron and Shelley at Pisa. It was to these chambers that, as Rogers relates, Mackintosh and Richard Sharp used to resort and stay for hours arguing metaphysics, to such an extent, indeed, that Rogers used to leave them to it and go out, pay his visits, transact his business and return only to find them still at it and quite oblivious of his absence.

Two new buildings, said by contemporary writers to be "very elegant," were added to the S.E. end in 1830.

In 1838 the old buildings were destroyed by fire. John Campbell, afterwards Lord Chancellor, and Sir W. H. Maule were at this time inmates, and the story goes that Maule, after a convivial evening, was responsible for the outbreak. The fire at any rate broke out in Maule's room, and it is perhaps more charitable to accept Campbell's version that "he had gone to bed, leaving a candle burning by his bedside."

These are the buildings referred to by Lamb when he demanded, in *The Old Benchers*, "Who has removed those frescoes of the Virtues, which Italianized the end of Paper Buildings?—my first hint of allegory!" In the painting by J. Maurer, 1741, these frescoes or sculptures, the removal of which so roused Lamb's ire, may be faintly discerned. They are described by Dickens in *Barnaby Rudge* as "a row of goodly tenements, shaded by ancient trees, and looking at the back upon the Temple Gardens," and where "in the broad old-fashioned window-seat—as capacious as many modern sofas and cushioned to serve the purpose

of a luxurious settee"—Sir John Chester lounged as he watched his son Edward sitting, lost in thought, on a bench in the garden.

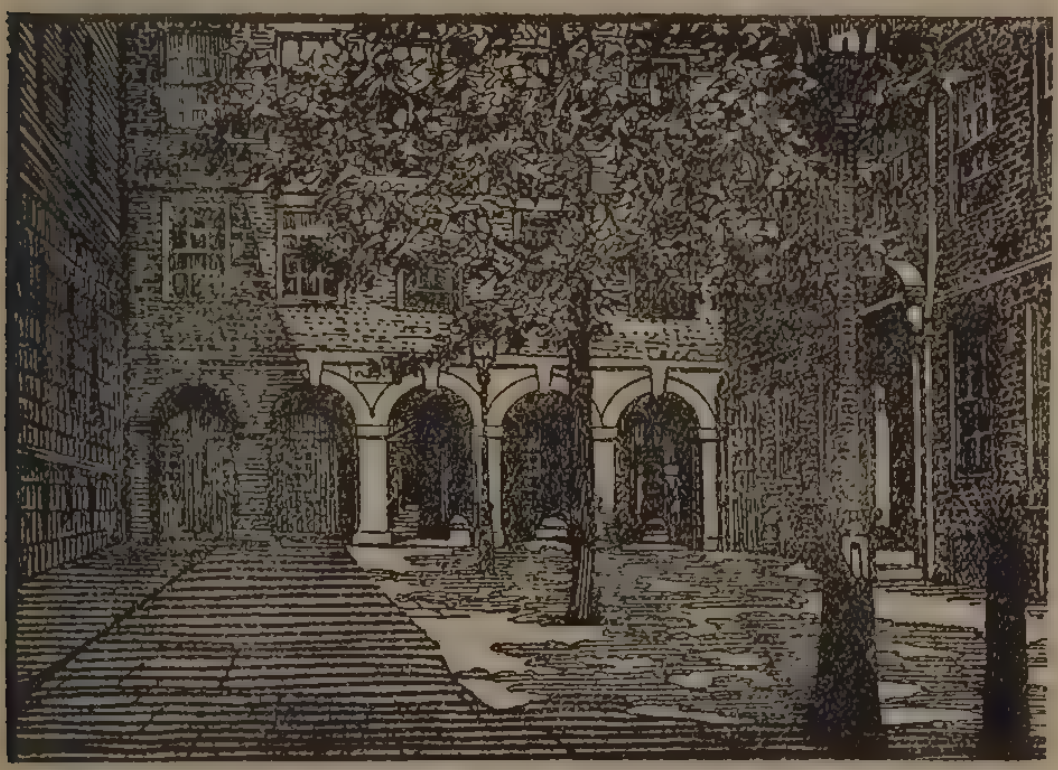
At No. 2 in the new buildings the late Sir Frank Lockwood had chambers. His cheery, genial presence and unfailing wit and humour will not readily be forgotten in the Temple or in the Courts. He was Solicitor-General in Gladstone's last administration. Called to the Bar in 1850, Hardinge Stanley Giffard, afterwards Lord Chancellor Halsbury, had chambers at No. 5, one pair right. Giffard came to the front at the Old Bailey, the Middlesex Sessions and the South Wales Circuit, and became Disraeli's Solicitor-General in 1875. Raised to the Woolsack ten years later, he has held this office under four administrations. His able and lucid judgments will bear comparison with most of those of his predecessors, and is proof, if proof were needed, that a Common Law practice is no bar to the Chancellorship. In politics Lord Halsbury was a Tory of the Tories, and except upon land registration reform nothing was too old-fashioned for him. This wonderful old man, with physical and mental vigour still unimpaired, became the leader of the young Tory hot-heads known as "Die-Hards."

In the same chambers was Sir Harry Poland, K.C., another great criminal lawyer. He was followed by John Lawson Walton, who carried on an enormous practice at the Bar. Appointed Attorney-General in Campbell-Bannerman's administration in 1906, he died a victim to over-strain two years later. Attendance in the House throughout two all-night sittings when in charge of the Criminal Court Appeal Bill proved the last straw. Below, Arthur Cohen, K.C., one of the most distinguished jurists, had chambers.

Other eminent lawyers occupants of Paper Buildings were Sir Henry Fielding Dickens, K.C., son of the novelist, and English Harrison, K.C., at No. 2; Albert Bosanquet, K.C., the Common Serjeant, and Sir Henry Holland, the International jurist, at No. 3; the late Lumley Smith, K.C., and Atherley Jones, K.C., Judge of the City of London Court, at No. 4.

Parson's Court.—The very name of Parson's Court is half forgotten and few could name its site. It was a Court near the S.E. angle of the church, which contained part of Lamb Building and part of the Court now called Tanfield Court. In this Court a lodging was assigned for the use of the Master of the Temple and his curate. This was by virtue of the provisions in James I.'s charter whereby the Societies were to provide a convenient mansion for the Master and an annuity of £17 6s. 8d. in addition to the £20 paid by the Crown. The Masters or Rectors, however, were not content with these provisions. They claimed to be entitled to the rents of other chambers. In 1628 the rents of Kellaway's Buildings in the Churchyard were ordered by the Benchers to be paid to the Master, Dr. Micklethwaite. This house had formed part of the rectory before the Reformation, and was granted to Mr. Kellaway by Edward VI. It was subsequently conveyed to the two Societies. From a MS. *c.* 1638, it appears that the Master was receiving £36 11s. 4d. from chambers in Parson's Court and £18 from chambers in Churchyard Court. These were claimed by the Societies, and on appeal to the King, the Master, who was held entitled to twenty chambers in Parson's Court and in the Churchyard, was ordered to deliver them up, on receipt from the Societies of £200 every term in lieu of these rentals and

the assessment 18d. for every member, amounting to £31 10s. In 1657 new buildings were erected by the Inner in Parson's Court at a cost of £1450. These are probably the buildings referred to by Dugdale as erected in Parson's Court near the E. end of the church. They perished in the Great Fire.



PUMP COURT

Pump Court.—One of the oldest Courts in the Temple is said to be Pump Court. Its name, and the fact that the old Hall which stood at the S.W. and was afterwards converted into chambers about 1575, lend considerable weight to this tradition, for the old Hall was a relic of the Knights Templars days. The E. end is formed by the Cloisters, to which reference may be made for the buildings above them. In 1627 "certain ruinous and decayed buildings on the N. side" were ordered to be pulled down and rebuilt, the

undertakers to have the chambers for life and an assignment. These chambers were completed in 1628 at the cost of £750. The W. side of the quadrangle was completed by the erection of a brick building abutting on the Lane in 1630, and seven years later the remaining buildings in Pump Court were finished, thus completing the Court as we now know it, though some portions were afterwards destroyed by fire and rebuilt.

The fire of 1679 broke out in the chambers of one Thornbury in Pump Court on 26 January, and was far more disastrous to the Temple even than the Great Fire. Breaking out at midnight it continued until noon next day, destroying nearly the whole of Pump Court, the greater part of Hare Court, Elm Court, Vine Court and Brick Court across the Lane, the Cloisters and part of the Inner Temple Hall. The Thames was frozen and the water supply stopped by the frost, the fire-engine being fed with beer from the brewery of John Crosse at the western end of the Hall. In the midst of the confusion Sir James Edwards, Lord Mayor, arrived with assistance, but would not lose so good an opportunity of asserting the City's disputed claim to jurisdiction over the Temple by endeavouring to have his sword borne up before him. Distracted as the lawyers were, they would have none of it and beat the sword down, the Lord Mayor departing in wrath and wreaking his vengeance by turning back a fire engine on its way from the City. He is said to have then soothed his outraged dignity by getting right royally drunk at a neighbouring tavern.

"But the chief way of stopping the fire," wrote Luttrell, "was by blowing up houses, in doing which many were hurt, particularly the Earl of Faversham,

whose skull was almost broken by a falling beam and who narrowly escaped being blown up with the records of the Fine Office." Amongst the Earl's party rendering assistance were the Earl of Craven, the Duke of Monmouth and several officers of the Guards.

With its destruction, the name of Vine Court finally disappeared. Upon its site are now kept the Inner Temple's fire appliances.

Many celebrities have lived in Pump Court, amongst whom may be mentioned Philip Yorke, Lord Chancellor Cowper, Fielding, Blackstone, Lord Chief Justice Russell of Killowen, and his successor, Lord Chief Justice Alverstone. Cowper, the fellow-student of Thurlow, at first occupied Chambers here, but in 1759 he removed to the Inner, of which he had become a member in June, 1757, where he purchased a set of chambers for £250, and here it was that he attempted suicide by hanging himself from the top of his doorway. Constitutionally of a morbid temperament, his mind became unhinged, partly perhaps as the result of an unsuccessful love affair with his cousin Theodora, and partly from nervousness at the prospect of an examination as to fitness for the post of Clerk of the Journals of the House of Lords, a post which his cousin, Major Cowper, had secured for him. After buying a bottle of laudanum and wanting courage to swallow its contents, he went down to the river to drown himself, but turned back at the sight of a porter waiting on the bank. The day before his examination he made a more determined effort, and but for his garter breaking, after a third attempt, he would have lost his life.

Appointed a Commissioner of Bankruptcy after his attempted suicide he resigned this post, feeling with

morbid diffidence that his knowledge of law was unequal to the position.

I have been unable to identify Fielding's chambers in Pump Court. Henry Fielding, the novelist, became a student of the Middle in 1737, and three years later was called to the Bar. He was connected with the law in the person of his grandfather, Sir Henry Gould, a Justice of the King's Bench, and was a descendant of William Fielding, first Earl of Denbigh.

Till his connection with the Temple, Fielding had been a playwright of doubtful character, and when the Act of 1737 to restrict the license of the stage was passed he found his occupation gone. Joining the Western Circuit, he assiduously attended sessions, but without success. Whilst a student he had contributed to periodical literature, and upon the appearance of Richardson's *Pamela* had parodied the book, to the great disgust of the author. His comedy, *The Temple Beau*, published in 1730, shows his acquaintance with Temple life even before his own more intimate connection with it.

Appointed a police magistrate for Westminster in 1748, Fielding, after a hard struggle, in which he lost his wife and child, gained timely relief from pecuniary embarrassment and the opportunity to reveal his real capabilities. The immediate result was *Tom Jones*, that immortal work in which the original of "Sophia" was his first wife, Miss Craddock.

In 1749 Fielding was elected Chairman of Quarter Sessions held at Hick's Hall, now Clerkenwell Sessions House. He died at Lisbon, where he had gone for his health, in 1754.

The name of Blackstone is inseparably connected with the study of English law, although we must not

forget the obligations under which he lies to his predecessors, Bacon, Hale, Hawkins, Rolle, Viner and Comyns. From the works of these writers whole paragraphs are bodily lifted, a practice still very usual with legal writers.

Called by the Middle Temple in 1746, he first occupied chambers at 2 Brick Court, under those of Goldsmith, where he is said to have been much disturbed by his roistering neighbour. Whether this was the cause of his removal to Pump Court we do not know, but here he came about the year 1766 and occupied the ground floor, left, at No. 3, the window of his room looking out into Elm Court. His progress at the Bar was slow. It was his lectures, which formed the basis of his great work, which brought him into public notice. In 1763 he became Solicitor-General to the Queen and a Master of the Bench. Returned to the new Parliament of 1768, he declined the office of Solicitor-General, but in 1770 accepted a judgeship. His *Commentaries* appeared in the years 1768 and 1769.

Though a sober man, Blackstone is said by Lord Stowell to have composed his *Commentaries* with a bottle of port before him, and to have had his mind invigorated and supported in the fatigue of his great work by a moderate use of it. Other days other habits. Few modern physicians would prescribe such medicine for brain-fag.

At Oxford, Blackstone became first Vinerian Professor, an office founded upon the bequest of the copyright of Viner's *Abridgement* to the University.

A contemporary of Blackstone with chambers in Pump Court, "two pair up," was John Dunning, called by the Middle in 1756. A strenuous opponent of the mad policy which lost us the New England

colonies, it was Dunning who, in 1780, moved the famous resolution that "the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing and ought to be diminished," which he carried, and in 1782 he supported Conway's motion against the further prosecution of the American War. He was raised to the peerage as Baron Ashburton.

The sundial here, with the motto,

"Shadows we are and
Like shadows depart,"

was put up in 1686.

Lord Alverstone, like Russell and Mansfield, although a member of Lincoln's Inn, chose the Temple for his legal habitat. His chambers were at No. 2, ground floor, left. At Cambridge, Dick Webster, as he then was called, was a great athlete, winning the two miles in the Oxford and Cambridge sports of 1865. He retained his love of games all his life, and was a great patron of cricket. Attorney-General in Lord Salisbury's administration, he appeared for the Crown in the Jameson Raid trial at Bar, before Russell, C.J., Baron Pollock and Hawkins, J. For six months he was Master of the Rolls, and upon Lord Russell's death he became Lord Chief Justice.

At No. 6 were the chambers of Joseph Chitty, the famous special pleader. One of his pupils was, in 1813, Sir Henry Havelock, who, owing to some misunderstanding with his father, abandoned the law, and the following year entered the 95th Regiment. What was lost to the law was gained to the service. The capture of Cawnpore and the relief of Lucknow link Havelock's name indissolubly with some of the most remarkable achievements in our national history.

Plowden Buildings.—Before the embankment was constructed in 1770, which added considerably to the area of the Temple, only Nos. 1, 2 and 3 of Plowden Buildings existed. In Ogilby's Plan of 1770 only Nos. 1 and 2 are standing. They were erected in the first year of Charles I., and almost certainly replaced earlier structures. The buildings on the site of Nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6 were not erected till the year 1687, when Dr. Barbon obtained permission to erect two blocks of buildings, which became known as Dr. Barbon's Buildings. They were rebuilt in one block shortly after the year 1732, and then became known as No. 1 Garden Court. In 1849 the S. end was rebuilt and the W. front repaired, whilst the E. front was refaced in 1906.

Nos. 1 and 2, built in 1626, were originally known as Garden Building, and after the reconstruction of Barbon's Buildings as No. 2 Garden Court. In this building were the Parliament Chamber and the Library. On the Library staircase was a chamber where the butler lodged, and here Goldsmith, when he first came to the Temple, shared quarters with Jeffs the butler. It was from a window opening on to Garden Court, as this portion of the Middle Temple Gardens then was called, that Goldsmith used to watch the rooks. "I have often," he writes, "amused myself with observing their plan of policy from my window in the Temple that looks upon a grove, where they have made a colony in the midst of a city." The "grove" appears just opposite No. 2 Plowden Buildings, then known as No. 2 Garden Court in the plan of 1732. Rooks are said to have been brought to the Temple by Sir Edward Northey, Treasurer of the Middle, from Woodcote Green, Epsom, in the reign of Queen Anne. Here Goldsmith was visited by Dr. Scott, Lord

Sandwich's chaplain, with offers of patronage. "I can earn," answered Goldsmith, "as much as will supply my wants without writing for any party; the assistance you offer is therefore unnecessary for me." Mightily incensed with this show of independence, the Doctor left him to "his garret."

About the year 1831 No. 2 Garden Court was rebuilt from designs by Henry Hakewill and was renamed Nos. 1 and 2 Plowden Buildings, whilst No. 1 Garden Court became Nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6 Plowden Buildings; Nos. 3 and 4 Garden Court on the W. of the Hall merely changing their numbers to Nos. 1 and 2. Extensive alterations were made in Nos. 1 and 2 Plowden Buildings in 1896, when a new Treasury Office was constructed. The new name was in honour of Plowden, the great jurist of Elizabethan times.

Admitted to the Middle in 1538, Edmund Plowden was, in 1553, returned as member for Wallingford. Staunch Catholic as he was, he, with thirty-eight other members, withdrew from the House in 1554 rather than support the extreme measures of Mary Tudor and her priests. For this proceeding information for contempt was filed against him, but more prudent counsels prevailing, nothing was done. The offer by Elizabeth of the Woolsack if he would renounce his faith met with a dignified refusal. In 1561 he was chosen Treasurer of the Middle, which office he held till 1567, the management of the building of the new Hall being committed to his care from its commencement in 1562 to its completion in 1572. Standing apart from the Court party, Plowden was frequently employed in cases against the Government. He gained the reputation of the greatest and most honest lawyer of his time.

Tanfield Court.—When the old Cloister Court was cut in two by Cæsar's Buildings (the present Lamb Building) another Court was formed to which the name of Tanfield Court was given, from the occupation of Bradshaw's Rents by Sir Lawrence Tanfield, a great personage of the Inn. Henry Bradshaw, Chief Baron of the Exchequer in 1552, was one of the witnesses to the seal affixed by Edward VI. to the instrument settling the crown on Lady Jane Grey. His immediate successors at the Exchequer were David Brooke, Treasurer of the Inner, and author of Brooke's *Abridgement;* Roger Manwood, one of the Commissioners on the trial of Mary Stuart, also a member of the same House; and Lawrence Tanfield, one of the judges at the trial of the Countess of Somerset for the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury. For eighteen years Tanfield presided over the Court of Exchequer, with much credit for his independence, integrity and learning. By some he is accused of being harsh, unjust and even corrupt.

In Tanfield Court a cruel murder took place in 1733. For a few pounds a charwoman named Sarah Malcolm strangled an old lady, Mrs. Duncumbe, and cut the throat of her little maid, Annie Price. Malcolm was executed at the Fleet Street end of Mitre Court, after sitting for her portrait to Hogarth, with all the vanity engendered by her evil notoriety.

Temple Bar.—Temple Bar, although not within the Temple, is too closely associated with its history to be passed unnoticed. "Anciently," says Strype, "there were only posts, rails, and a chain, such as are now in Holborn, Smithfield, and Whitechapel Bars. We now know that Temple Bar, which then served as a gate-house prison, was burned down by Wat Tyler's

followers in 1381. Afterwards there was a house of timber erected across the street, with a narrow gateway and an entry on the S. side of it under the house."

This building was certainly there in the reign of Henry VIII., and the stone gate-house, as many of us remember it, was erected in the years 1670–2. It

THE GRIFFIN

marked not the boundary of the City proper, but the later extension known as the Liberty of the City, which it separated from the Liberty of the City of Westminster, and became the scene of many historical scenes, a notable one being the reception of Her Majesty Queen Victoria by the Lord Mayor in the Diamond Jubilee progress through the City, when the keys were here presented to the Queen, and duly restored by Her Majesty to the City's representative.

Temple Bar has figured in many a pageant and many a tragedy. Here came Mary Tudor on her way into the City to be proclaimed, and here the Lord Mayor delivered up the City sword to good Queen Bess when she rode to St Paul's to return thanks for the glorious victory over the mighty galleons of Spain. On this occasion, as we learn from an entry in the *Black Books* of Lincoln's Inn, the gentlemen of the Inns of Court were present in a stand specially allotted to them. This entry consists of an item of £3 11s. paid to Philip Cole, Under-Treasurer of the Middle Temple, being one-quarter of the charges for the rails and cloth used in the stand. Stow relates how the City companies "stoode in their rayles covered with blew cloth," and doubtless the stand of the Inns of Court was similar.

At Temple Bar the same scene was enacted in honour of Charles the Martyr, Cromwell the Protector and Charles the Selfish Idler.

Here Evelyn, in his eighty-fourth year, stood and witnessed the same ceremonial when Queen Anne was received at Temple Bar by the Mayor, and presented with the sword, which she returned. The Queen "rode in a coach with eight horses, none with her but the Duchess of Marlborough in a very plain garment, the Queen full of jewells."

And from his day the old gateway has cast its shadow over the head of every sovereign and every popular hero.

At Temple Bar, too, the mob has burned in effigy the Pope and every other obnoxious person, and the guilty and innocent alike have suffered the ignominy and outrage of the pillory. In 1679 the infamous Titus Oates expiated here a portion of his outrageous crimes, and later still De Foe stood in his place.

In delivering sentence upon Oates, Mr. Justice Withers said: "I never pronounce sentence but with some compassion; but you are such a villain and hardened sinner that I can find no sentiment of compassion for you."

A strong Whig and supporter of William, with the return to power of the Tories upon the accession of Anne, Daniel De Foe was sufficiently indiscreet to reprint his *Shortest Way with the Dissenters*, which was ordered by Parliament to be burnt by the hangman in New Palace Yard.

De Foe had fought for Monmouth and opposed James; he had been the favourite and panegyrist of William; he had vindicated the principles of the Revolution and defended the rights of the people. When the Wheel of Fortune brought back the outraged Tories, whom he had bitterly attacked, De Foe was put in the pillory at Temple Bar, but the good citizens of London, remembering his labours in their cause, instead of pelting him with brickbats and rotten eggs, smothered him with bouquets of flowers. "Thus," he says, "I was a second time ruined, for by this affair I lost above £3500."

Pope makes allusion to this "affair" in the following lines:—

> "Earless on high stood unabashed De Foe;
> And Tutchin flagrant from the scourge below."

And De Foe himself, in his *Hymn to the Pillory*, thus describes his position on that occasion:—

> "Exalted on thy stool of state,
> What prospect do I see of future fate?
> How the inscrutables of Providence
> Differ from our contracted sense;
> Hereby the errors of the town
> That fools look out and knaves look on."

MIDDLE TEMPLE GATEHOUSE AND TEMPLE BAR

Like London Bridge and Westminster Hall, the heads of traitors grinned their ghastly warning to the passers-by.

The heads of the rebels of '45 were still rotting there when Dr. Johnson passed the gateway on his way to his chambers in Inner Temple Lane.

In the room over the archway were stored the ledgers from Child's Bank.

Upon the widening of the Strand and the erection of the Law Courts, Temple Bar was pulled down and removed to Meux Park, near Enfield, where it has been rebuilt, and may still be seen. Its place has been marked by the present Temple Bar memorial, erected in 1880, consisting of a column surmounted by a bronze figure of a griffin, representing the City arms. In one of the niches is a statue of Her late Majesty Queen Victoria, wearing her crown and carrying the orb and sceptre. This monument is vulgarly known as "The Griffin."

Temple Gardens.—At the foot of Middle Temple Lane, almost upon the site of the old Temple Stairs, rises an enormous pile of buildings erected at the joint expense of the two Societies after the further extension of the Embankment in 1865. Through the archway over which it is carried access is gained to the Embankment. The architect was Sir Charles Barry. In its erection a great opportunity was lost. Instead of a building more in sympathy with the *genius loci*, we have a structure only vulgar in its ornateness and entirely out of place. Nos. 1 and 2 are the property of the Inner, whilst Nos. 3 and 4 belong to the Middle. This building was completed in 1878.

The Temple Stairs.—The earliest reference to the Temple Stairs, or Temple Bridge, as it was called up

to the 18th cent., occurs, as we have seen, in the letter of Edward III., in the third year of his reign, to the Mayor. It is said, and probably with truth, to have been built by the Knights Templars, and it was restored by order of Edward III. in 1331.

Another reference to the "Pons Novi Templi" occurs in a subsequent letter of the same monarch, in which he commands the Templars to repair the bridge, so that his lords and others who attended

THE TEMPLE STAIRS IN THE TIME OF JAMES I.

the Parliament at Westminster might not be inconvenienced.

Here in 1441, as we learn from Stow, landed Dame Eleanor Cobham, Duchess of Gloucester, robed in a white sheet, with lighted taper in hand, on her way through Fleet Street to fulfil her appointed penance at old St Paul's. Her confederates in the alleged acts of witchcraft against the young King Henry suffered the extreme penalty of the law, but Dame Eleanor was allowed to retire to the Isle of Man, where in Peel Castle her ghost is said still to roam.

We next hear of the Temple Bridge when, in 1541, there was a conference between the two Societies relating to its repair. What came of the conference is unknown, but in 1584 the bridge was repaired with the aid of a subscription from the Queen herself.

In 1620, however, "a new bridge and stairs" were ordered to be built, and the Treasurer was admonished "to take care that the bargain be made for the best of both Houses." That the Treasurer, who was Sir Thomas Coventry, was not entirely successful appears from the accounts, where numerous heavy charges for the new bridge occur for many years. An order was passed in 1703 for the repair of the bridge, "at the equal charge of both Temples," and three years later the stairs were ordered to be "amended."

In the great frost of 1683 the Temple Stairs played an important part. This frost commenced early in December, and lasted continuously up to 8 February. On 1 January, as we learn from Evelyn, booths were set up on the ice, and coaches, carts and horses passed to and fro. The frost becoming more severe, the booths were arranged in formal streets, "all sorts of trades and shops furnished and full of commodities, even to a printing press where ye people and ladyes tooke a fancy to have their names printed, and the day and yeare set down when printed on the Thames." Coaches, he adds, "plied from Westminster to the Temple, and from several other staires to and fro, as in the streets, sleds, sliding with skeetes, a bull-baiting, horse and coach races, puppet plays and interludes, cookes, tipling, and other lewd places, so that it seem'd to be a bacchanalian triumph or carnival on the water, whilst it was a severe judgment on the land, the trees not only splitting as if lightening struck,

but men and cattle perishing in divers places, and the very seas so locked up with ice that no vessells could stirr out or come in."

As late as 5 February Evelyn tells us he crossed the river in his coach from Lambeth to the Horseferry.

An illustration of this scene was taken on 4 February, the day before the first thaw, and is supposed to be the work of Thomas Wyck, a well-known artist of the 17th cent. It gives a good view of the stairs and of the lower buildings in King's Bench Walk. The street of booths just opposite, stretching across the river, was known as "Temple Street." Charles II. was a frequent visitor to the "Frost Fair," as this ice carnival was called, and a card commemorating one of his visits, printed by G. Groom on the ice, on 31 January, 1684, is still in existence. He and the Queen are said to have been present when an ox was roasted whole on the ice, and even to have eaten a portion of it.

It is to these stairs that we are introduced by Addison in his account of Sir Roger de Coverley in the *Spectator* for 1712:—

"We were no sooner come to the Temple stairs but we were surrounded with a crowd of watermen offering us their respective services. Sir Roger, after having looked about him very attentively, spied one with a wooden leg, and immediately gave orders to get his boat ready."

When the steamboats had destroyed the watermen's business, the stairs were abandoned, the pier at Essex Stairs being used, and from 1840 the gates at the Temple Stairs were kept locked, on account of the disorderly persons who began to frequent the spot. Upon the construction of the Embankment in 1865 the old Temple Stairs were removed, and the present

Temple Pier built as a substitute for the use of the members of the two Societies, but the Thames watermen and their wherries have long succumbed to the "underground" and the penny "bus."

Vine Court.—Between Fig Tree Court and the Cloisters, with a passage leading into the S.E. corner of Pump Court, lay Vine Court, a name indicating an open space in earlier days. Chambers were erected here in 1612 over the Cloisters three stories in height by Francis Tate, a Bencher of Middle, described as "of great learning in the laws and eminent for his knowledge in antiquities." New buildings in Vine Court are referred to in 1640 as lying "between Vine Court on the east, Little Court on the west, and Fig Tree Court on the south." Little Court is now represented by the end building on the S.E. of Pump Court. In 1650 some decayed buildings were ordered by the Benchers of the Middle to be rebuilt at the Society's expense. Here in 1675 stood the shop of Henry Twyford, the publisher of Brownlow and Goldesborough's *Reports*.

Vine Court was completely destroyed in the Fire of 1679. To Dr. Barbon was entrusted the work of rebuilding some portion of the Court, and there is a reference to some dispute between the latter and a Mr. Tuck in 1682 touching his new chambers in Vine Court, which was settled by the Benchers. As a distinctive address, Vine Court disappeared in the Fire of 1679.

SOME OTHER DISTINGUISHED MEMBERS

Austin, John (I.T.). Jurist and legal philosopher. Called 1818, he practised for a time as an equity draftsman, and had chambers at No. 2 Old Square, Lincoln's Inn. In 1820 he married Miss Sarah Taylor, and the young couple lived in Queen's Square, Westminster, close to James Mill, their window overlooking Jeremy Bentham's garden. Their only child, the playmate of John Stuart Mill, who became Lady Duff Gordon, was born here. A failure at the Bar and unappreciated as a jurist in his lifetime, Austin died a disappointed man. "If John Austin," remarked Lord Brougham, "had had health, neither Lyndhurst nor I should have been Chancellor."

Baylis, T. Henry (I.T.). Admitted 1834. King's Counsel and Bencher, Judge of the Court of Passage, Liverpool, and author of *The Temple Church.*

Blackmore, Richard Doddridge (M.T.). Though called to the Bar by the Middle in 1853, Blackmore never practised. He made his reputation with *Lorna Doone,* published in 1869.

Blount, Thomas. (I.T.). Called 1648. Antiquary and the author of *Boscobel.* An intimate friend of Selden and Sir William Dugdale and their circle.

Browne, William. (I.T.). Author of *Britannia's Pastorals, The Shepherd's Pipe* and the *Inner Temple Masque,* performed in the Inner Temple Hall, Christ-

mas, 1614–15. He was friend of Selden and Sir William Dugdale.

Burke, Edmund (M.T.). Admitted 1747. Statesman, orator and man of letters. Returning to Dublin he was a fellow-student of Goldsmith. Whilst eating his dinners at the Temple in 1750, he lodged with Jacob Robinson, bookseller and publisher, at No. 16 Fleet Street.

Congreve, William (M.T.). Admitted 1691, was a schoolfellow of Swift at Kilkenny and with him at College, where an enduring friendship was formed. His comedy, *Love for Love*, was played in the Inner Temple Hall on Candlemas Day, 1734.

Delane, John Thaddeus (M.T.). Called 1847. At the early age of twenty-three succeeded Mr. Barnes as editor of *The Times* in 1841, which post he held till 1877.

De Quincey, Thomas (M.T.). This strange literary curiosity began to keep his Terms at the Middle in 1808, apparently without any idea of practice. Here he became intimate with Lamb, Talfourd and their circle. He had already become acquainted with Coleridge, Wordsworth and the Lake School of poets. His *Confessions of an Opium Eater* is the best known of his writings.

Dickens, Charles (M.T.). Admitted 1839. Novelist. He does not appear ever to have occupied chambers in the Temple, of which he has displayed such intimate knowledge in his works. He was never called to the Bar, and in 1855 he withdrew his name from the books of the Inn. He died in 1870.

Drake, Francis. Claimed by both Societies. Specially admitted to the Inner, 28 January, 1581. He had but recently returned from his voyage round the world, and the *Golden Hind* was then lying in the Thames, from the timbers of which an oak table in the

Middle Temple Hall is said to have been made. On board this vessel he was knighted by Elizabeth a few months later. Sir Francis was, with Raleigh, in 1586, entertained to banquets in the Halls of both Societies.

Effingham, Lord Howard of (I.T.). Lord High Admiral, the hero of the Great Armada fight and the first English Ambassador to Russia.

Ford, John (M.T.). Admitted 1602. Dramatist. His mother was sister to Chief Justice Popham. His best known play, *The Lover's Melancholy*, was acted at the Private House in the Black Friars and publicly at the Globe by the King's players.

Grattan, Henry (M.T.). Admitted 1782. Irish statesman, orator and author. He was a Home Ruler before the Union, but when the Act was passed loyally accepted its provisions. He was a strong advocate of Catholic emancipation.

Hallam, Henry (I.T.). Constitutional historian, practised for some years on the Oxford Circuit. Becoming independent on the death of his father in 1812, he abandoned the law. He became a Bencher, and his arms may be seen in a window of the Library near those of Daines Barrington. His son, Arthur Henry Hallam, the subject of Tennyson's masterpiece, *In Memoriam*, was also a member of the Inner.

Hyde, Edward, Earl of Clarendon (M.T.), will be remembered rather as a politician and historian than as a lawyer, although even at the Bar he made a respectable figure, due, no doubt, to a large extent to his family influence. An adherent of Charles I., he was the faithful minister of his exiled son, receiving from him the Great Seal in 1654.

At the Restoration he became practically Prime Minister, and, in spite of the jealousy of the Queen-

Dowager, Henrietta, continued for seven years the ruling power.

The first attempt to bring about his downfall was made upon the discovery of the secret connection between his daughter Anne and the Duke of York, which failed upon the publication of the marriage, and resulted in his further advancement. A second attempt, in 1663, by charging him with high treason, met with no better success. But Charles gradually wearied of Clarendon's constant reproaches and ill-timed lectures, and his enemies were not slow to take advantage of the situation, and in 1667 he was commanded to surrender the Great Seal. Impeachment and banishment followed, and even in France refuge was at first refused, and when passing through the old cathedral town of Evreux he was assaulted and wounded by a party of English sailors, though what the latter were doing so far from the coast does not appear. He died at Rouen in 1674.

His history of the *Great Rebellion* is a classic.

Inderwick, F. A. (I.T.). Admitted 1855. King's Counsel and Bencher, leader of the Divorce Court, author of the *King's Peace*, and editor of the *Calendar of the Inner Temple Records*, to which he added masterly introductions.

Ingpen, Arthur Robert (M.T.). Admitted 1876. King's Counsel and Bencher. Editor, *Master Worsley's Book on the History and Constitution of the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple* and *The Middle Temple Bench Book. Being a Register of the Middle Temple from the Earliest Records to the Present Time with Historical Introduction.*

Jeffreys, George (M.T.). Called 1707. Poet and dramatist. Never practised. He produced two

tragedies—*Edwin*, played in Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1724, and *Merope*, 1731.

Jones, Inigo (M.T.). Architect, admitted *honoris causa*, 1613. His best known works are the Banqueting House, Whitehall; Queen's Chapel, St James'; St Paul's Church; The Piazza, Covent Garden; and Lincoln's Inn Chapel. The management of the Masque, written by Francis Beaumont and given in honour of the marriage of Princess Elizabeth to the Count Palatine of the Rhine in 1612 by the Inns of Court, was entrusted to Jones.

Molloy, Charles (M.T.). Admitted 1716. Dramatist and journalist. He was the author of *The Perplexed Couple, The Croquet* and *The Half-pay Officers*.

Moore, Thomas (M.T.). Poet, admitted 1799, when about twenty years of age, bringing with him his *Anacreon*, which was published the following year. He never occupied chambers in the Temple, but lodged in Fleet Street.

Overbury, Sir Thomas (M.T.). Admitted 1597. Poet and philosopher. An intimate friend of Robert Carr, he was through the machinations of that nobleman and the Countess of Essex done to death.

Pole, Sir William (I.T.). Antiquary, who left large collection of MSS. for the history and antiquities of Devonshire, the bulk of which perished in the Civil War. Treasurer of Inner, 1565.

Ravenscroft, Edward (M.T.). Admitted 1667. Dramatist. He was the author of *The Careless Lovers, Scaramouch, The Wrangling Lovers, King Edgar and Alfreda, The English Lawyer, Dame Dobson, The Canterbury Guests, The Anatomist, The Italian Husband* and *The London Cuckolds*.

Robinson, Henry Crabb (M.T.). Called 1813. Diarist. Admitted 1808. Robinson enjoyed a moderate practice at the Bar. He is best remembered as the intimate friend of Coleridge, Wordsworth, Southey, Rogers, Blake, Flaxman, Lamb and Talfourd. Robinson notes in his Diary that, on 17 June, 1812, he dined at four o'clock in the Middle Temple Hall with De Quincey.

Rowe, Nicholas (M.T.). Called 1688. Dramatist. Son of Serjeant Rowe, and was favourably noticed by Chief Justice Treby. His tragedy, *The Ambitious Stepmother,* was played at Lincoln's Inn Fields, and according to Cibber, young Rowe fell in love with Mrs. Bracegirdle, who had contributed to its success. After a highly successful career as a dramatist, Rowe, in 1715, was appointed Poet Laureate.

Rudierde, Sir Benjamin (M.T.). Admitted 1590. Politician and poet. Was an associate of Ben Jonson and other literary men of the day. He was the author of *Le Prince d'Amour, An Account of the Revels at the Middle Temple in* 1599.

Sheridan, Richard Brinsley (M.T.). Admitted 6 April, 1773, Sheridan a week later married Miss Linley, whom he had previously rescued from an unworthy admirer, and for whose sake he had fought two duels. Statesman and advocate, he will be best remembered as the author of *The Rivals* and *The School for Scandal.* Already an Under-Secretary of State, Sheridan's speech upon the charges against Warren Hastings relating to the Begums occupied five hours and forty minutes, and was regarded as one of the most memorable in the annals of Parliament.

Southern, Thomas (M.T.). Admitted 1678. Dramatist. The author of *The Loyal Brother.* Joining

the 8th Regiment he had gained his company when the Revolution destroyed his prospects. Driven back to the drama, he produced *The Fatal Marriage* and *The Oroonoko or The Royal Slave*, the most successful play of the day, which held the boards at Drury Lane for nearly three years. Southern was a protégé of Dryden.

Sutton, Sir Richard (I.T.). Admitted *c.* 1507. Bencher and Governor. Founder of Brazenose College, Oxford.

Tickell, Richard (M.T.). Admitted 1768. Dramatist. He married Mary Linley, sister of Mrs. Sheridan. His most successful works were *The Camp, Anticipation, The Carnival of Music*, set to Linley's music, and *The Gentle Shepherd*.

Tone, Theobald Wolfe (M.T.). Admitted 1787. Irish patriot. Occupied chambers in Hare Court when a student.

Unton, Sir Henry (I.T.). M.P. for Berks 1592. Admitted 1553. Ambassador to Court of France who challenged the Duke of Guise for speaking disrespectfully of Elizabeth.

Villiers, George (M.T.). Second Duke of Buckingham, was the author of *The Rehearsal* and *The Battle of Sedgemoor*. He was admitted in 1665, on the same day as the Duke of Monmouth.

Wadham, Nicholas (I.T.). Admitted 1553. Founder of Wadham College, Oxford.

Willis, William (I.T.). Admitted 1858. King's Counsel and Bencher, County Court Judge and author of *The Society and Fellowship of the Inner Temple*.

Wycherley, William (I.T.). Dramatist. Admitted 1659. For some years lived as an inmate of the Temple, leading a gay and profligate life. According to tra-

dition it was at his chambers here that he received the notorious Duchess of Cleveland, one of the gay monarch's mistresses, who, moved by his comely person, introduced herself to him in The Mall, in the coarse language of the period. She is said to have stolen from the Court to her lover's chambers in the Temple "disguised as a country girl, with a straw hat on her head, pattens on her feet and a basket in her hand."

CONCLUSION

Even these rough sketches bear witness to the closeness of the bond which united the Temple and all its name implies with the life of the nation. From its heart has pulsated the life-blood of the people. Here the men who built up our constitution and the laws under which we live and have our being, worked and died; here those who interpreted and administered these laws on the Bench or in the Cabinet received their training; and here, too, toiled those who contributed to our pleasure on the stage, or earned a bare subsistence in the study, that our recreations might be enlarged and our labours lessened.

As we pace the well-worn pavements by the hoary walls and dingy chambers, what memories crowd upon memories of the dead past which lives again! Once more in the Round we see the novitiate kneel before the patriarch as he casts the veil of purity upon his head, and his two sponsors, the mail-clad Temple Knights in their white cloaks stamped with the red cross of the Order, stand on either side with uplifted swords. Or we watch the procession of newly-created serjeants in their

white lawn coifs and parti-coloured gowns wending their way from the Temple Hall to make their offering at the shrine of St. Thomas of Acre in Cheapside. Anon we see the form of Coke hurrying along the narrow passage in Ram Alley to Serjeants' Inn, from his chambers in Fuller's Rents ; or we stand with Plowden as he superintends the building of the Great Hall, where Christopher Hatton led out the Queen to head the dancers, and Shakespeare saw staged his immortal play. We see Lyttelton with the Great Seal, and many another Cavalier, flying to join the King at Oxford, whilst a Prideaux and a Whitelocke remain behind to carry on the business of their Inns, and to assist in legalising the Commonwealth. We may follow Sawyer, Pollexfen, and Somers to Westminster Hall and witness, in the trial of the Seven Bishops, the great struggle for civil and religious liberty. The features of the terrified Jeffreys, disguised as a coal porter, peeping through the grimy windows of a riverside tavern, recall to us the Bloody Assize and sweet Alice L'Isle, and the pusillanimous James, as with petty spite he casts the Great Seal into the Thames. Harcourt Buildings remind us of the silver-tongued advocate and Lord Chancellor, who defended De Foe at the Old Bailey, and at Cokethorpe was the patron and host of Gay, Prior and Swift.

In the Middle Temple Hall we may see Beau Nash making his bow to William of Orange, and declining the honour of knighthood. The fall of Macclesfield recalls the bursting of the South Sea Bubble, and the trial of Lord Lovat, with Hardwicke as Lord High Steward, and Mansfield as prosecuting counsel, the memories of '45. With the names of Burke, Sheridan, and Edward Law are associated the famous trial of Warren Hastings, and the comedy of *The School for Scandal*. Eldon, the great

Lord Chancellor, reminds us of the Gordon rioters, and of all the leading political events of the early part of the nineteenth century. From a window in Crown Office Row we may with Lamb once more look down upon the old Benchers as they gravely pace the terrace below, and in Lamb Building we may visit the chambers tenanted by Thackeray's immortal creations. Brick Court is once more peopled by that famous group of whom the leaders were Goldsmith, Fielding, and Reynolds, which a century later is replaced by a group of men equally distinguished in another direction, led by Coleridge, Bowen, and Russell.

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